

AN
USEFUL CASE
OF
CONSCIENCE,

Concerning Associations and Confederacies
with Idolaters, Infidels, Heretics, Malig-
nants, or any other known Enemies of
Truth and Godliness.

Learnedly discussed and accurately resolved.

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AN USEFUL
CASE OF CONSCIENCE, &c.

That the present Public Resolutions and Proceedings, do import a conjunction with the Malignant Party in the Kingdom, and of the Sin, Danger, and Scandal of that Way.

Sect. 1. *That there is a malignant party still in the kingdom.*

IN the entry to this business, the importunity of not a few makes it needful to speak somewhat to a question which unto this time hath been unquestioned, as beyond all exception; that is, *Whether there be yet in Scotland a malignant party? Or, Whether there be at this time any party who may and ought, in reason and Christian prudence, to be reputed and looked upon as malignants and disaffected to the covenanted cause of God?* It seems the more needful to speak somewhat of this, 1. Because some ministers are become slack and silent in this point, as if now there were no need of watchfulness and warning against any such party. 2. Because the expressions of many people of the land run that way, that there are now no malignants in Scotland, and that it is but a few factious ministers that will still keep up these names, that they may more easily, with others of their own stamp, weaken and divide the kingdom, for carrying on of their own ends. 3. Because the inclinations and resolutions of the public judicatories, in reference to most of the party who carried that name, doth clearly import that they do think they are no more to be looked upon as malignants, as appears from several of their papers; especially the letter written for satisfaction to the presbytery of Stirling. And therefore this must be laid down as the foundation of what follows: *That there is still in the land, not only a few persons, but a party considerable for number, power and policy, who are malignant and disaffected to the covenant and cause of God.*

We would join heartily in the desire of many, that these and other such like odious names of different parties and factions were taken away; but we cannot join in the reasons of this desire which are ordinarily given. We wish the name malignant were obsolete and antique, if so be the thing itself, which is such a root of bitterness, were extirpated out of the church; yea, though the thing itself remained, if men would hate it for itself, and account it more odious and hateful than the name imports, we would be glad it were no more heard of. Because we find this prejudice by all such appropriated names, that people generally look upon that which goes under that name as the only sin: and as if there was not that root of bitterness, in all which it grows out of, in any; and so conceive themselves good Christians if they fall not under that hateful appellation of malignants. But seeing this bitter fruit of enmity against godliness and the godly, comes to more ripeness and maturity in many of this generation than in others, who yet are unconverted: And seeing it hath been the custom of the church of God in all generations, to discriminate many more ungodly and known haters of godliness and his people from the common sort of natural people, and to comprehend them under the names, of *wicked*, of *malignant*, of *enemies*, as may appear in the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms. And more especially in our days, that name hath been appropriated to such who have declared themselves in their words or actions to be haters of godliness and the power thereof, and his people, or have arisen to the height of actual opposition against these; we cannot be blamed for using such a name still, for distinction's sake. We proceed to some reasons.

(1.) The constant and continued proceedings of the General Assembly and their commissioners for many years past unto this day.

There is not almost any of their warnings, declarations or remonstrances, which doth not assert this, and warn against it; and that not only before the king's home-coming and taking of the covenant, but also since that time, as is evident by the Declaration emitted by the commission in July last; the Declaration of the Assembly itself, a little after; by the Declaration emitted at Stirling since the defeat at Dunbar; the Causes of the Fast upon that defeat; the Remonstrance to the king at Perth after his escape; together

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ther with the Remonstrance given in by them to the parliament; all which do clearly hold forth this truth.

(2.) Take Christ's rule, *By their fruits ye shall know them.* There is a great party in the land that adhere to malignant principles; bring forth malignant fruits; and tread malignant paths, as may appear in these instances. (1.) A great

many of these who have been formerly engaged in such courses, and under church censures, did lately conjoin together and rise in arms, and drew away the king from the public councils of the kingdom, and refused to lay down arms till they got conditions agreeable to their minds; which course of theirs was justly declared by the commission to carry upon it the stamp of malignancy in an eminent way.

(2.) The seeking to promote and establish an arbitrary power in the person of the king, as it hath been still the endeavour of the malignant party, so it hath been always taken by the kirk of Scotland as one of their characters, and that there is a party now in Scotland, who still hold that principle and drive this design of arbitrary power is evident. First,

because these same men, who were lately in arms, did not only take up arms upon the king's simple warrant, and without the knowledge, and contrary to the mind of the committee of estates; but also received the act of indemnity, and laid down arms, in obedience to the king's majesty, without so much as mentioning or acknowledging the committee of estates, as it is to be seen in a paper subscribed by them, and in the remonstrance of the commission of the General Assembly, dated at Perth, Nov. 29. 1650. the words

whereof are these. *Your lordships should likewise consider, whether it doth not encroach upon the present constitution of government of this kingdom, and will not involve your lordships in the guilt of these mens sin, if you shall accept of their laying down of arms, merely upon the profession of obedience to the king's command, without any expression of their respect and obedience to the committee of estates, or any acknowledgement of their sin and offence: which we hope you will look upon as a most unnatural and unseasonable rending of the kingdom, in the time of this heavy opposition by a common enemy, and exposing the kingdom to all misery and ruin.* 2. It may be remembered that in the first model of the agreement which was made at Breda, that clause which doth concern the determining of civil matters in the interval of parliament, by such as are authorized by parliament for that effect, and the king's ma-

jeesty

jestly hearkening to their advice was wholly left out. And any who are acquainted with expressions and inclinations of sundry great ones in the land, are not ignorant of their dislike of a committee of estates, and their desire to have the administration of matters, in the interval of parliament, wholly devolved upon the king's council. And the same spirit that would draw business from the committee to a cabinet council, would at last draw them from the parliament itself; because that is also, if not more, crossing to private interests and designs than a committee of estates. 3 Instance. There is a party in the land who as in their hearts they do envy, and in their tongues do traduce men that have been steadfast and faithful in the covenant and cause of God; so do they endeavour to the utmost of their power, to bring them into disgrace and contempt, and to get them removed from power and trust; and, upon the other side, study with no less diligence to get places of power and trust, in the army and elsewhere, filled with such as either have been open enemies or secret underminers. 4 Instance. Are there not many who oppose the kingdom of Jesus Christ and work of reformation? not only by holding up that old calumny of malignants, concerning the seditious and factious humour of ministers, and their stretching of themselves beyond their line, and by mocking all faithful and free preaching of the word, and by bearing down the power of godliness, deriding and hating all the lovers and followers thereof, by being impatient of the discipline and censures of the church; but also looking upon the government of the church with an evil eye, and strongly inclining, some of them, that church government be put in the hands of a few prelates, most of them that it may be wholly devolved upon the civil government. 5th Instance. There is still a party in the land that endeavour to have the state of the question altered, and to have religion left out of the same; that it being stated upon civil interest, they may take to themselves a greater latitude in their way of carrying on business. This was holden forth to be the design of the malignant party in the year 1648, as appears in the Declaration of the Commission that year in March: and there was a necessary and seasonable warning given against it by the Commission in their Declaration, of the date July 1650.

(3.) Besides those who are excommunicated, there are yet in the land a considerable number of persons of chief note, who

who do still lie under censures of the church; some because of their accession to the late unlawful engagement; others because of their accession to the late course of rebellion, about the time of the king's escape from Perth; besides many others of less note.

(4.) We suppose that it is most certain and unquestionable, that there was lately a malignant party and faction in the land, very numerous and powerful. How many men of blood, murderers of their brethren, as unnatural and barbarous as the Irish they once joined with against their country? How many have watched all opportunities for troubling the peace of the kingdom, and rejoiced in the day of its calamity? How many were the oppressors of these who called on the Lord's name in the time of the engagement? What multitudes of profane and ungodly mockers of all godliness, and haters and persecutors of the godly, swarming every where? If this be truth, as it is indeed, we may say, Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such a thing? Shall a nation be born at once? And have they so soon learned to do well, who have been so long accustomed to do evil? When did this catholic conversion fall out? and by what means? Hath the act of indemnity and pardon such influence, to justify these men from all their butcheries and barbarous cruelties? The adding of three thousand to the church in one day, was miraculous in the days of miracles. But behold a greater miracle than that, in the days when miracles are ceased! many thousands added to the church of the friends of the cause of God in one day, and that not by preaching, which is the power of God unto salvation; not by spiritual weapons, which are mighty through God: but by the carnal weapon of an act of indemnity, and the example of one man, the king's conjunction in the cause, which at the best hath not such evidence of reality as to convince any, and change their mind. Sad experience, and the constant testimony of the church of Scotland proves, that malignancy is a weed that hath deeper and stronger roots than to be plucked up so easily; and that though there be some, yet there is but few in the land who have been once engaged in that way, that have really and indeed abandoned and come off the same.

The point shall more appear by taking off objections that are made to the contrary. It is objected, 1. That these who were formerly esteemed malignants, did oppose the work of
God

God because they could not be persuaded in conscience, that the covenant and cause were contrived and carried on in a warrantable way, those who were most instrumental in it, seeming to them not only to act without authority, but against authority. But so it is, that the king hath now joined in the covenant and added his authority to it, and therefore it needs not be feared that these men will any more oppose it; nay it may be expected, they will no less zealously promote the ends thereof than they did formerly oppose the same.

Ans. This argument supposeth some things that are false, some things at best doubtful, and some things dangerous. It supposeth two falsities. 1. That it was a ground and principle of conscience and respect to the king's authority that made these men to oppose the covenant and work of reformation. If it was the conscience and conviction of the unwarrantableness of it for the want of authority, that stirred them up to oppose the covenant and cause; then why did they subscribe it and join in the defence of the same against the king? 2. It supposeth that the only ground, why they did oppose and undermine the same, was, because the king was of a contrary mind, and refused to join in the covenant, and ratify the same by his authority, which also is false: for there were several other grounds and causes of so doing besides this. We shall name a few, leaving the rest to a further scrutiny. 1. The natural enmity that is in the hearts of all men against the Lord and his anointed, his work and people, and the power of godliness, which doth effectually work in the children of disobedience. 2. An enmity against the power of parliament and laws. 3. An enmity against the union of the kingdoms. 4. An enmity against the power of presbyteries, and the discipline of the church. To which are opposed, a sinful desire of breaking the bonds, and casting away the cords of the Lord and his anointed; a desire to establish an arbitrary power and unlimited monarchy; a desire to establish a lordly prelatical power in the persons of a few, or to have the government of the church wholly dependent on the civil power; a desire to dissolve the union of the kingdoms, that they may be thereby weakened and less able to resist malignant designs against religion and liberties; a desire to live loosely without bands in regard of personal reformation.

2. It supposeth something that is at best doubtful, *to wit,*
That

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That the king hath really joined unto the cause of God, there being small evidences of it, and many presumptions to the contrary. Especially, 1. His bringing home with him into the kingdom a number of eminent, wicked and known malignants. His countenancing of, and familiar conversing with such in this nation since his coming, and correspondence with others of them abroad. His deserting of the public councils of the kingdom, to join to a party of bloody and wicked men, raised in arms with his knowledge and by his warrant. 2. His not being convinced of any guilt in his father, because of his opposition to the cause and covenant, notwithstanding of all the blood of the Lord's people shed by him in that opposition. For verifying whereof, we appeal to the knowledge of some noblemen and ministers who have occasion to know his mind, and to be serious with him in this thing.

3. It supposeth something that is of very dangerous consequence. 1. That these mens zeal to the cause or against it, doth ebb and flow according to the king's being against it or for it. Since they follow the cause, not for itself but for the king, will they not desert it when the king forsakes it? Can they be accounted real friends of the cause who are known to favour it only *ad nutum principis*? As the comedian *ait, aio, negat, nego*. Is it not all one to follow the cause for the king and for a man's own interest and advantage? both are alike extrinsic and adventitious to the cause, both are alike changeable. Eccebulus under Constantius was a precise Christian; under Julian a persecuting apostate; and then again under the next Christian emperor became a Christian: And it is like if he had outlived that emperor till a Heathen succeeded, he should have paganized the second time. 2. That very principle that is pretended to unite them to the cause is in itself most dangerous, both to the privileges of parliament and liberties of the people, and to our religion beside. Their principle of opposition was, "They conceived the way followed could not be warrantable without the king's consent and warrant. That people might not vindicate their own just rights and liberties, and their religion, without the king's concurrence; or against him." Now then, the principle of their conjunction to the cause must be this, "Because it is now clothed with authority which it had not before, and which now makes it warrantable." This principle therefore includes in the bosom

of it, the establishing of unlimited and absolute power in kings; the unlawfulness of defensive wars against tyranny and oppression; the king's negative voice; and the dependent power of parliaments upon his pleasure: All which are principles destructive of the cause and our liberties, and the very characters of our enemies from the beginning. Thus they have changed their way but not their principles, and are now the more dangerous that they may not be looked upon as enemies, but as friends. Seeing it is manifest, that it is not the love of the cause that constrains them, and they know it was not that principle that persuaded the king, but mere necessity, contrary to his own inclination, may we not certainly expect, that according to their principles they will labour to set at freedom the king, whom they conceive imprisoned and captivated by the power of necessity within the limits and bounds of a regulated monarchy, and to loose him from all these chains of involuntary treaties and agreements, and rigid laws and parliaments, that he may then act in freedom and honour according to his own inclination and theirs both; and then farewell religion and liberties.

Object 2. The most part of these who were formerly malignant, have now repented of that sin, and make profession of their resolution to adhere to the covenant and cause of God, and to bestow their lives and estates in defence thereof: Therefore they are not now to be esteemed malignants.

Answer. We would wish from our hearts that we had no answer to this argument, then should we yield the point in hand, and yield it cheerfully, that there is no malignant party now in Scotland. But, alas! that we have so much evidence convincing our consciences and persuading them to deny what is objected. We acknowledge some have indeed repented, and such we desire to embrace and receive with all tenderness and love, as godly Christians, worthy to be entrusted: But yet the most part of them do still bring forth the same malignant fruits. Their ungodly and wicked practices testify to their face that they have nothing to do to take his covenant in their mouth, seeing they hate to be reformed. The late rising in arms, contrary to their solemn and particular engagements; their bearing down and reproaching the godly, and such as are of known integrity; their studying to fill places of trust with men formerly enemies or underminers; their continuing in their profane and loose walking. All these are more convincing evidences of their retain-

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ing their old principles than any extorted confessions or professions; for sinister respects and ends, can be no probable signs of their repentance and change.

We desire these things to be remembered, 1. That the engagement was carried on, not by open and professed enemies, but such as had made public profession of their repentance, and were thereupon admitted to trust. 2. That upon consideration of the hypocrisy and instability of these men appearing in that and other particulars, the kirk and kingdom of Scotland did take upon themselves strait bonds and engagements to exclude such from trust, until such time as they had given real evidences of the reality of their repentance, and of abandoning their former principles and ways; of which this kirk was to judge impartially as in God's sight. 3. That it hath been confessed and preached by many godly ministers, and was given in by sundry in the time of the searck of the Lord's controversy against the land, in November last at Perth, and hath been bemoaned and regretted by many of the people who feared God; that there is a great deal of sin and guilt lying on the kirk of Scotland, for the sudden receiving of scandalous persons, especially malignants, to the public profession of repentance before there was in them any real evidence of their forsaking their former principles and ways.

Object. 3. None are now to be esteemed malignants, in reference to employment and trust, but such as stand judicially debarred by kirk and state to be so: for certainly, men are not to lie under the burden of so great a reproach, upon the private whisperings and common reports of others; otherwise, honest men may be wronged, and there shall be no end of confusion, or terminating this controversy, there being no certain rule to walk by in it.

Ans. We acknowledge that surmisings, whisperings and reports of others are not sufficient, but that a rule is needful. All the question will be, what is that rule? And though the judicial debarring of judicatories be not all, but it must be ruled by another rule, yet are we willing to take it for so much: for even that will prove there is yet a malignant party in Scotland, because many are standing under church censures. These involved in the late rebellion, are standing under a sentence of the commission, declaring them to be following their old malignant designs, few of them are yet admitted to profession of repentance. We desire

it may be considered, that the rule holden forth by the kirk of Scotland 1648, for admitting of persons to trust, is of larger extent than judicial sentence or censure. *To wit*, That they be such against whom there is no just cause of exception or jealousy. 2. Albeit a judicial trial or censure be indeed necessary, for inflicting punishment or censure upon men; yet it is not necessary for avoiding association with them, or debarring them from trust. 3. If none were to be accounted malignants, but they who are judicially declared to be such, what needed the kirk of Scotland have frequently taken so much pains, to give characters to know them by, there being so clear and compendious a way beside? Hath there not been always in the land secret underminers as well as open enemies? And hath not faithful men avoided the one as well as the other? 4. The General Assembly, 1648, declared the taking in of these who followed James Graham to be an association with malignants, tho' most part of them were then released from church censures.

Sect. 2. That the present public resolutions, expressed in the Commission's Answer to the Parliament's Query, and the Act of the Levy, do not exclude that party.

IN the next place, upon supposal and proof, that there is a malignant party and faction still in the land, it is needful to examine, whether the exceptions contained in the Answer of the Commission to the Parliament's Query, and inserted into the Act of Levy, be so comprehensive as to include all that party. The exceptions be four. 1. *Such as are excommunicated.* 2. *Such as are forfeaulted.* 3. *Such as are notoriously profane or flagitious.* And, 4. *Such as have been from the beginning, and continue still, or at this time are, obstinate enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God.* That these are not comprehensive of the whole malignant party in the land, appears.

First, The rules of the General Assembly framed for the exclusion of all such, as ought not to be employed in our armies, are far more comprehensive. The rule is for employing of such only as are of a Christian and blameless conversation, which is turned over by their commissioners into a negative, *All that are not notoriously profane or flagitious.* Another is, for entrusting only these who have been of known integrity and constant friends to the cause of God from the beginning;

ginning; which is also turned over into a negative; *All that have not been constant enemies.* All such, by the Answer, are capable of some trust and employment. The rules agreed upon by the assembly, and ratified by act of parliament, anno 1649, and renewed upon occasion of this invasion, was, That no officer nor soldier that followed James Graham, should be permitted in the army; nor any officer that was on the engagement, except such as upon real evidence of repentance, were particularly recommended by the church; nor any common soldier, but upon sufficient testimony of his repentance. Now, since it is proved that the most part of all such continues still malignants, and retain their old principles; and that the bulk and body of the people are called forth by the public resolution, without such exceptions as were conceived before necessary, for the exclusion of that party; it follows clearly, that the malignant party is not excepted in the present resolutions.

2. Few of these who were in the late rebellion, and declared, not many days since, to be following a most malignant design and course, are contained under these exceptions; because very few of them are excommunicated or forfeited: and though more of them be indeed flagitious and profane; yet very few of them will fall under the compass of the exception, notoriously flagitious. Many wicked things will be said to concur to make up a profane man; some acts will not serve; a habit must be demonstrated; and though that were shewed, yet there must be also a notoriety of it, which imports a man to be famous for looseness and profanity; and there are none almost, if any, in the land, who have been professed enemies from the beginning, and continue so to this day. James Graham was not such. It is the matter of our sad complaint, that whilst many are enemies, they make profession and semblance of friendship. 3. These exceptions do not comprehend any who are under censure for malignancy or profanity, except such as are under the sentence of excommunication; and that even such may not be excluded, lest the rule be transgressed, by admitting and employing excommunicated persons. 'Tis withal resolved, that these persons shall be relaxed from that sentence, that so they may be immediately in the same capacity of employment with others, whatever formerly hath been their opposition or defection. Some exceptions must be made, for honesty and credit's sake; But the nearest and readiest way

is taken to make them ineffectual. 4. These exceptions do not only not reach these who were upon the unlawful engagement, and have not as yet given sufficient proof of their abandoning their malignant principles and courses; but come not the length of comprehending these men of blood who followed James Graham, and in the most barbarous and cruel way, shed the blood of their own brethren and God's people; because the most part of these are not *excommunicated nor forsaulted*; nor *notoriously flagitious and profane*; nor such as *have from the beginning been, and still are enemies*. If any will say, that such are comprehended under these exceptions, Why did the Commission express the exceptions in such terms, as to mens common apprehension do not include many? especially seeing there are known rules, particular and distinct, without ambiguity; and seeing there is such a propension in rulers to employ all without difference, which would undoubtedly take advantage of any thing that seemed to look that way.

It is likewise manifest, that the second part of the answer, relating to the capacity of acting, is loaded with the same inconvenience. 1. There is no positive determination of the qualifications of persons to be intrusted, as in former times it was agreed on by the Assembly and their Commissioners: but that is now referred to the discretion of the parliament; together with such diminutive terms, as gives them great latitude to go upon. Before, no trust was given to such persons; now, it is allowed they shall have some trust: and how much is not determined, nor what degree of it is prejudicial to the cause; which it appears, the parliament's proceedings in nomination of officers, unquestioned by the Commission, is a good commentary to expound that they may have any trust, except to be general officers. 2. Our former established rule was, that no persons should be entrusted, but such as *are of known integrity, and have been constant friends of the cause*. But how far is this diminished? They who are such, only recommended to be especially taken notice of. Less could not be said by any; more ought to have been said by the Commission. And though no such notice be taken of such by the parliament: but on the contrary, those who have been most faithful, and suffered in the late defeat at Hamilton, they are used as enemies, worse than malignants in former times; yet there

is no testimony given against such things. *Quantum mutatus ab illo cœtu qui quondam fuit!*

Before we enter upon the chief question, we offer these manifest and known truths to consideration.

1. The occasion of contriving and subscribing first the national covenant, and then the solemn league and covenant, was, the designs and practices of the popish, prelatical and malignant party, against religion and the work of reformation in these kingdoms. 2. Since the contriving and subscribing of the same, it hath been the continual endeavour of that party, sometimes by undermining, and sometimes by open opposition, to undo the same, and to bear down all those that clave honestly thereto, and faithfully prosecute all the ends thereof. 3. That there hath been these many years past, and still is, such a party, in all the three kingdoms, considerable for number, power and policy. 4. That that party, hath always prosecuted their design, under a colour of zeal and respect to the king's authority and interest. 5. That that party hath always been the authors and abettors of much bloodshed, many miseries and sad calamities to these nations. 6. That the people of God in these kingdoms, have taken upon themselves a most solemn and sacred bond of an oath and covenant to discover them, and bring them to condign punishment. 7. That it hath been one of the predominant sins of Scotland under the bond of the covenant, to comply with them. 8. That indignation and wrath from the Lord, hath been following that party and their designs these years past. 9. That compliances with them hath always been cursed to us of God. 10. That few of that party do really abandon and forsake their corrupt principles and way, and join cordially in the cause and covenant. 11. That many of them do, after the profession of their repentance for their opposition to the cause and covenant of God, relapse frequently into the same sin. 12. That sudden receiving of many of them to fellowship and trust, and too great credulity in believing their professions, hath often cost this land very dear. 13. That upon consideration of the deep treachery and hypocrisy of these men, and the sad consequences following upon sudden receiving of them, without evidence of a change, after long and renewed experience, this land renewed their obligations more strictly in the solemn engagement. 14. That there hath been a design driven these two years past, to get that party again in power

power and trust. 15. That this design hath been testified against by the public resolutions of the judicatories unto this time. 16. That as it hath been driven at very cunningly and actively, by many instruments and arguments of several sorts; so hath it gained ground piece and piece, until at length many of them are brought into the court, and to the army and judicatories in the country: And now, by the public resolutions, they are generally to be employed and entrusted. Thus the design is accomplished. But, 17. These men do not satisfy themselves with some degree of power; but endeavour to engross the whole power of the kingdom into their own hands, and study to bring into contempt, and cull out these, who have been and do continue constant in the cause of God. 18. That having power into their hands, they must act according to their own principles, and for establishing their own ends. And lastly, That these principles and ends, are destructive to the covenant and work of reformation.

Sect. 3. That the employing of, and associating with the malignant party, according as is contained in the public resolutions, is sinful and unlawful.

IF there be in the land a malignant party of power and policy, and the exceptions contained in the Act of Levy doth comprehend but few of that party; then there need be no more difficulty to prove, that the present public resolutions and proceedings, do import an association and conjunction with a malignant party, than to gather a conclusion from clear premises. But that such a conjunction is in itself sinful and unlawful, and besides, a violation of our solemn oaths and engagements; a backsliding from our principles and professions, and a walking contrary to the whole tenor and current of our former resolutions and practices, is now to be made manifest.

First, We reason from that constant, standing and perpetual rule, which the Lord gives concerning the modelling and carriage of the armies of his people in all their wars. Deut. xxiii. 9. *When the host goes forth against their enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing. And after, If there be among you, any man that is unclean, by reason of uncleanness that chanceth him in the night, then shall he go abroad out of the camp; he shall not come within the camp.* (If for ceremonial

ceremonial uncleanness he was to be excluded, much more for moral, as our divines reason from the Old Testament in the point of excommunication; and if for uncleanness not voluntary, much more for voluntary wickedness.) The reason of all is given ver. 14. *For the Lord thy God walks in the midst of the camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee: Therefore shall thy camp be holy, that he see no unclean thing in thee and turn away from thee.* Even as they would expect a blessing of the Lord, so ought they to keep their camp holy, as he is holy: He gives not such a strict rule for the competency of number, as for the qualifications of the persons, as being the principal thing. Therefore the present conjunction with so many ungodly and wicked men, that have formerly declared themselves enemies to God and his people, and to this day give no evidence to the contrary, is sinful and unlawful.

2. The Lord hath frequently in scripture declared his dislike and hatred of such associations and conjunctions. The scriptures cited in the General Assembly's declaration in the year 1648, against the engagement, are sufficient proof of this. We shall take the argument as it is formed by the commissioners of that assembly, in their answer to the observations of the committee of estates upon the assembly's declaration, p. 7. "Every engagement in war, that is pretended to be for religion, and hath in it a confederacy and association with wicked men, enemies of true religion is sinful and unlawful. But the present engagement in war, as it is held forth in the public resolutions, is pretended to be for religion, and yet hath in it a confederacy and conjunction with wicked men, and enemies of true religion." *Ergo*, The second proposition is evident from the two first sections.

The first proposition is proved from those scriptures forementioned. God forbade conjunctions and confederacies with the enemies of his cause and people; not only the Canaanites, Exod. xxxiv. 12, 15. Deut. vii. 2. and other heathens, such was Ase his covenant with Benhadad, 2 Chron. xvi. to ver. 10. Ahaz his confederacy with the king of Assyria, 2 Kings xvi. 7, 10. 2 Chron. xviii. 16. but also with wicked men of the seed of Abraham, as Jehoshaphat's with Ahab, 2 Chron. xviii. 3. *And Ahab king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of Judah, Wilt thou go with me to Ramoth-Gilead? And he answered him, I am as thou art, and my people as thy people,*

and we will be with thee in the war, compared with chap. xix. 2. And Jehu the son of Hanani the seer, went out to meet him, and said to king Jehoshaphat, Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord. And with Ahaziah 2 Chron. xx. 35. And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, who did very wickedly. Which being reprov'd for, he would not again join with Ahaziah, 1 Kings xxii. 49. Then said Ahaziah the son of Abab unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships: But Jehoshaphat would not. And then Amaziah's association with 100,000 of Israel, 2 Chron. xxv. 7, 8, 9, 10. But there came a man of God to him, saying, O king, let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the Lord is not with Israel, to wit, with all the children of Ephraim. But if thou wilt go, do it, be strong for the battle: God shall make thee fall before the enemy: for God hath power to help and to cast down. And Amaziah said to the man of God, But what shall we do for the hundred talents which I have given to the army of Israel? And the man of God answered, The Lord is able to give thee much more than this. Then Amaziah separated them, to wit, the army that was to come to him out of Ephraim, to go home again: Wherefore their anger was greatly kindled against Judah, and they returned home in great anger. The sin and danger of such associations may further appear from Isa. viii. 12, 13. " Say ye
 " not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall
 " say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be a-
 " fraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself, and let him
 " be your fear, and let him be your dread. Jer ii. 18.
 " And now, what hast thou to do in the way of Assyria,
 " to drink the waters of the river? Psa. cvi. 35. But were
 " mingled among the heathen, and learned their works.
 " Hosea v. 13. When Ephraim saw his sickness, and Judah
 " saw his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and
 " sent to king Jareb: Yet could he not heal you, nor cure
 " you of your wound. And chap. vii. 8, 11. Ephraim, he
 " hath mixed himself among the people: Ephraim is a
 " cake not turned. Ephraim also is like a silly dove with-
 " out heart: they call to Egypt; they go to Assyria. 2 Cor.
 " vi. 14, 15. Be ye not unequally yoked together with un-
 " believers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with
 " unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with
 " darkness?

"darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial?
 "or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?"
 And if we should esteem God's enemies our enemies, and
 hate them with perfect hatred, how can we then join with
 them as friends? Psal. cxxxix. 21.

The committee of estates at that time endeavoured to
 elude the strength of these scriptures, and vindicate their
 engagement from the falling within the compass of them.
 But the commission of the assembly that year took the mask
 off their evasions. Would to God we had no other party
 to deal with now. It was the evil and complaint of that
 time, that church and state were divided. But what an evil
 time are we now fallen into, that the union of those in this
 point, is the complaint of many of the godly? The com-
 mission, in their letter to Stirling presbytery, sets up the
 committee's answer in a new dress, and holds it out for sa-
 tisfaction to our consciences. All that is answered may be
 reduced to three or four heads.

1. There is made a great difference between an invasive
 and defensive war, as if in the one, choice of instruments
 ought to be sought: but in the case of just and necessary
 defence, all subjects may be employed.

To which we answer, 1. That the scriptures cited con-
 clude most expressly against conjunctions of that kind in de-
 fensive wars. Such was Aſa's covenant, such was Ahaz
 his confederacy. Were not the reproofs of the prophets di-
 rected particularly against the peoples seeking of help from
 Egypt and Assyria, in the case of their own just and neces-
 sary defence? Jer. ii. 18. Hosea v. 13. and vii. 8, 11. Isa.
 viii. 12, 13. 2 Chron. xvi. to ver. 10. 2. The law and rule
 given Deut. xxiii. is general, regulating all their wars whe-
 ther defensive or offensive; and it is strange that any should
 imagine such a difference where the law makes none; nay,
 when the ground of the law is moral and general, equally
 respecting all wars. Is there any ground of conscience,
 why wicked persons may not be kept in the camp when we
 invade others, and yet these may be employed and entrusted
 when we defend ourselves? If there be any reason to
 prefer the one to the other in this point, we conceive de-
 fensive war should have the preference: Because when the
 Lord brings upon us unjust invasion, he is ordinarily pur-
 suing a controversy against us: and therefore we ought to
 be most tender and circumspect, that there be no unclean
 thing.

thing in the camp, and put away every wicked thing from us, even the appearance of evil; lest we add oil to the flame of his indignation, and he seeing such an unclean thing in us, turn yet further from us. Except we say, that we need not take care to have God in the camp with us, when we are upon just and necessary defence, seeing our cause is so good. 3. There is more hazard and danger to our religion and liberties, to have a wicked malignant army at home among us, than abroad in another nation. While they are here, they have the power of the sword, and can command all; but there might be some hope and endeavour for vindicating our own liberties and religion while they are abroad, as it fell out in the time of the engagement.

2. It is answered, that there is a difference between this case and the engagement, because there was then no necessity of choosing such instruments, a competency of power might be had; but now it is not so, and therefore the scriptures mentioned do not militate against the present case. *Ans.*

1. The scriptures cited will obviate this. What made Israel and Judah run to Egypt or Assyria for help, but their weakness and necessity? Their wound was incurable, and their bruise grievous, as Jeremiah often laments, and particularly chap. viii. 20, 21, 22. and x. 19, &c. and yet this did not excuse them for going to Egypt and Assyria to heal their wound, Hosea v. 13. and vii. 8, 11. The scripture holds out infidelity and distrust in God, as the ground of such associations, 2 Chron. xvi. 7, 8, 9. Isa. viii. 12, 13. which proceeds from the incompetency of means as the occasion of it. 2. Suppose there was a necessity for calling forth the body of the common people, yet certainly there is no necessity of employing any such persons of whom the question is, and putting them in places of trust: There is none can deny, but there are, besides all secluded persons, many, that might fill the places of trust and power: Therefore the plea of necessity is but a pretence to cover some design, that under its specious and plausible covering, the power of the land may be engrossed into the hands of malignants: and so by this means all power and trust may return, as the rivers to the sea or fountain, as they judge the king, that so in his person there may be established an unlimited and arbitrary power. 3. Necessity is a very plausible argument and strong plea to carnal reason for any thing; but it cannot be a good ground, in point of conscience,

ence, for that which is sinful in itself. Now that this is sinful in itself appears from the word of God, simply condemning such associations upon moral, and so general and perpetual grounds. Now in such a case of necessity, we are called either to trust in God, in the use of competent means, seeing in such cases we have so many promises; or, if all help be gone, which God allows us to make use of, we must wait on him till he brings salvation with his own arm.

But because the plea of necessity is the strongest that is made use of for the present public resolutions, we must consider it a little more. It is alledged, that the best part of the land is under the feet of the enemy, and so no help can be had from it; and for other parts of the land which are yet free, there is not much choice of persons; and the testimony of faithful men in the state, declares, that when all that are called forth of these places, are gathered, it cannot amount to a power competent enough; And therefore in such a question of the existence of second means, the knowledge whereof immediately depends on sense and experience, these who are not acquainted, should give credit to the testimony of faithful witnesses. And that a competency of power must be had, according to the ordinary way of Providence, in relation to which we must act, except we would tempt God by requiring of him wonders.

Ans. Suppose the enemy's army to consist of 20,000 or above, are there not more sensible persons in the shires on the north side of Perth? Believe it who please, we cannot stop our own consciences, and put out our own eyes. Let the rolls of several shires be looked to, and it shall confute that testimony. Nay, are there not more persons not formerly secluded in all those shires? What meant the levy appointed immediately after Dunbar? was not 10,000 foot and 1400 horse put upon these shires which are not under the power of the enemy? and yet the rules of exclusion were not abandoned. Now all these, or most part of them, are yet in the country not levied. Money was taken instead of men; the levies obstructed, so that there was little addition to the strength of the forces that remained; the forces diverted by the insurrection of the malignants in the north, at the king's command or warrant. All which hath such pregnant presumption of a design carried on to necessitate the kingdom to employ that party, by the cunning politicians of the time, by obstructing the levies, raising the malignants, and then pacifying

cifying them by an act of indemnity, and at last openly and avowedly associating with them. Thus the design is accomplished which was long since on foot.

2. If satisfying courses had been studied by the public judicatories to carry on all the godly in the land with their resolutions, there had accrued strength from the parts of the land be-south Forth, which would have compensated all that competency of power that the conjunction of the malignants make up: and it may be would have been more blessed of God. 3. If there is no help required nor expected from those parts of the kingdom be-south Forth, wherefore did the Commission write to the presbyteries in those bounds that they might concur actively in their stations for the furtherance of the levies, and choose ministers to go out with them?

3. It is answered, That the confederacies reproved were unlawful, because they were either with heathens, or with idolaters, strangers and foreigners. This is answered to the case of Amaziah, &c. and so it seems not to make against the present case, the employing all subjects in the just and necessary defence of the kingdom.

Answ. 1. This answer at one blow cuts off all the strength of the General Assembly's reason against the association with malignants in that year. There might be some few persons idolaters, but there was no party and faction such; and yet they can deny association with the English-malignants from those scriptures; yea, not only with them, but with our own countrymen that were in rebellion with James Graham, who were neither idolaters nor foreigners. We need no other answer than the Commission at that time gave to the committee of estates using that same evasion, *pag.* 10, 11. 2. The ground and reason whereupon such associations are condemned, is more general and comprehensive. Jehoshaphat was reproved for joining with Ahab, because he was *ungodly and hated the Lord*, which is properly in our terms, because he was a malignant and profane man. It was a strange mocking of scripture to restrict ungodliness, in that place, to the sin of idolatry. Confederacy with the Canaanites and other nations was forbidden on this ground, *that the people be not ensnared, and learn not their works*. Now is not the company of, and communion with ungodly men of the same general profession, but mockers and haters of the power thereof, as infectious and ensnaring? Nay, it is more

more apt to ensnare because of the profession. Paul would have as much distance kept with a brother walking disorderly, as a Pagan: for such a one as walks contrary to their profession of the true religion, do evidence more ungodliness and wickedness, than an ignorant and superstitious Papist that walks precisely according to his profession. There is some principle of conscience stirring in the one; but it is seared in the other with a hot iron. God ranks such, who are uncircumcised in heart, with the uncircumcised in flesh. Ought not his people to do so to? 3. The rule of modelling armies and purging the camp is most comprehensive, Deut. xxiii. not only of idolaters and foreigners, but every wicked thing, and unclean thing, was to be removed out of the camp. Now, seeing those examples are transgressions of this law, what reason is there to make the only ground of reproving and condemning of them to be, because idolaters were associated with, as if any other might be joined with, that is not an idolater. 4. That reason against Amaziah's conjunction with Israel is wrested by some, expounding it thus. *God is not with them, is not understood, in regard of a state of grace, as appears, nor in regard of God's prospering providence; because he was often with them in that regard: but it must be understood in regard of an idolatrous profession.* But we reply, that it is true it is not understood in regard of a state of grace; nor simply in regard of his prospering providence: But *ut plurimum*, the Lord for the most part crossing them till they were cut off from being a nation. But especially it is to be meant in regard of a course opposite to God, according as the Lord speaks, 2 Chron. xv. 2. *The Lord is with you while ye be with him, but if ye forsake him he will forsake you.* If any will restrict this to idolatry, he hath no ground from scripture for such a limitation; but being engaged in the business, he wrests the scriptures to his own destruction. Sure we are, there are many palpable forsakings of God, and God's forsaking of men, beside idolatry and false worship. 5. That which is said, *That God did not command Amaziah to dismiss any of his own subjects.* Either it makes not much to the present business, or else it strikes against the law of God itself, that commanded such strict purging of the camp. From whom I pray you? Certainly from wicked Israelites, from wicked countrymen: Therefore if there was any such among the men of Judah, he ought to have put them out of the army as well as the Israelites.

Israelites. Nay, the command of dismissing the Israelites, was, really and upon the matter, a command to purge his camp of all that was of the stamp of the Israelites. It is strange that the civil difference of strangers and citizens should make such difference in the point of conscience. Ought we not to hate the Lord's enemies with a perfect hatred, not as Englishmen, not as strangers, but as enemies. Levi knew not his brother, this was his honour; but many now for respect to their brethren, know not God. It is the moral quality that the law of God respects, without respect of persons and countries. To be a citizen, if not qualified, doth no more plead for employment *in foro conscientia* and before God, than to be a stranger and qualified doth impede trust and employment *in foro conscientia* and before God.

5. It may be answered (and it is by some), That those scriptures plead, that there should be no conjunction with wicked men in a quarrel of religion; but seeing our present business is the defence of the kingdom, all subjects, as subjects, stand in capacity of employment for that end, though in reference to the defence of religion there must be a choice.

Ans. 1. The commission have vindicated themselves in a letter to Stirling presbytery from that imputation, that it is said, they state the quarrel and cause merely upon civil things in the answer to the parliament's query. But certainly there is just ground given to these that are watching for any such thing, to state the cause so: because they do contrary to all former custom and practice, mention the defence of the kingdom only, as it had been of purpose, to make the employing of all members of the body or subjects of the kingdom for its defence more plausible. But we answer to the point. The associations and conjunctions that are condemned in the cited scriptures, are some of them for civil quarrels so far as we know; some of them in the point of just and necessary defence of the kingdom, and yet that doth not justify them. 2. The rule given them, Deut. xxiii. was regulating all their wars, and clearly holds forth, that all subjects, as subjects, and members of the politic body, though as such there is an obligation lying on them to defend the whole; yet they are not in actual and nearest capacity to the performance of that duty, if they be wicked and unclean. And the reason is, because the Lord would have the wars of his people his own wars, and all that they do, to his glory, Num. xxi. 14. 2 Chron. xx. 15. Col. iii. 17.

More

More especially such solemn undertakings, there ought to be a difference between his people, acting for self-defence, and other nations. 3. Although the defence of the kingdom and defence of the cause, be different in themselves, yet are they inseparable. Whoever is entrusted with the defence of the kingdom really and *de facto*, he is *eo ipso* entrusted with the defence of the cause: Therefore the people of God, who ought always to have religion first in their eye, ought, especially in raising forces for self-preservation, to level at religion, and direct the choice of instruments in relation to that mark, that they destroy not Christians while they save subjects, and preserve our bodies to destroy our souls.

3^d Reason. That which is dissonant from and contrary unto all our former resolutions and proceedings, oaths and engagements, confessions and humiliations, must needs be most unlawful, or they themselves, as to that point, were unlawful. But the present resolutions and proceedings are dissonant from, and contrary to all these. *Ergo*, Either our present or our former resolutions and practices were unlawful; either we were wrong before, or we are not right now. The second proposition may be made manifest from, 1. The present resolutions are contrary to the solemn league and covenant in the fourth article and the sixth. To the fourth, because we put power in the hands of a malignant party, power of the sword, which is inconsistent in the own nature of it with either actual punishing of them, or endeavouring to bring them to punishment; unless it be intended to bring them all forth, and expose them to the slaughter for a sacrifice for the land, which may be the Lord's mind indeed, howbeit they know not his thoughts. And to the sixth article, because it is a declining to the contrary party, even that party against whom the covenant was at the making expressly contrived. And as the declaration of the General Assembly 1648 hath it, It is a joining with one enemy to beat another, with a black devil to beat a white.

It is most ingeniously answered, that the present resolutions are not contrary to the covenant; because such as are described in the covenant are not allowed to be employed, meaning, that these men are not now malignants. What needs men make such a compass to justify the public resolutions, seeing there is so easy and ready a way straight at hand? This one answer might take off all the arguments made against them, that there is no malignant party now; which is

the foundation that being removed, all the building must fall to the ground. But we have in the first article evinced that, which had been scandalous to have proved, if it had not been questioned. If it were indeed true, that no malignants are allowed to be employed, what needed the commission in their letter to Stirling presbytery take so much pains from scripture and reason to justify the present resolutions, when the clearing of that one point had cleared all? As for the declaration of the Assembly, anno 1648, *It is answered, that none are to be employed, that continue notoriously in the courses of malignancy, which was done that year.* Whereas the malignant party that was then associated with, would have engaged to be faithful to all the ends of the covenant, many of them were such as had been in covenant, and made shew of their repentance for their defection from it: and so there is no difference in this particular.

2. The solemn acknowledgement of public sins is so clear and peremptory in this, that it makes me tremble to think on it. Pag. 6. "Should we again break his commandments" and covenant, by joining any more in affinity with the "people of these abominations, and take in our bosom these" "serpents, which have formerly stung us almost to death?" "This, as it would argue much folly and madness, so, no" "doubt, it would provoke the Lord to consume us till there" "be no remnant of escaping." Let the 6th article also be considered. Join to this the declaration of the commission, upon report of this enemy's invading, p. 6. where it is declared, that malignants shall not be associated with, nay, not countenanced and permitted to be in our armies. The General Assembly after this, upon the enemy's entry into Scotland, gives serious warning to the rulers, to take heed of snares from that party: and that the rather, because men ordinarily are so taken with the sense of danger, as not to look back to that which is behind them, &c. How often have we sentenced ourselves unto wrath and consumption if we shall fall into this sin again? All these and the like, are endeavoured to be taken off, by saying that our engagements in this point, were conceived in a way of prosecution of the cause; but to be no impediment of the just and necessary defence, which we are bound to by nature's law, which no human law can infringe.

But we reply, 1. It is strange, our prosecution of the cause these years past, should be contradistinguished from the defence of it and the kingdom. It was conceived that our war in
England

England was defensive not invasive, that it was necessitated for the defence even of our kingdom, but it seems it is now questioned; but passing what was acted abroad, certainly all our wars at home were merely defensive, both against unjust invasion and seditious insurrections. Now our solemn engagements were conceived, in relation to our actings at home especially, and modelling our armies for the defence of our liberties and religion. We know well enough that a just invasive war is a rare accident in the world, and that the flock of Jesus Christ is, for the most part, obnoxious to the violence of others, as sheep among wolves; but are not often called to prey upon others. 2. To call our solemn engagements and declarations, grounded upon our oaths and the word of God, human laws and constitutions, that must cede to Nature's law, it is indeed ingenuous dealing: because to justify the present proceedings, there can be no more expedient way, than to condemn bypast resolutions for the peremptoriness of them, and to make them grounded on politic considerations, which are alterable: But it imports a great change of principles. We conceive that all human laws that are not for the matter grounded on the word of God, that oblige not conscience but in the case of scandal, and in regard of the general end, are alterable and changeable, whenever they come in opposition to the law of nature, self-defence, and the law of God written in his word. And therefore that act of parliament, mentioned by the commission, discharging all subjects not to rise without the king's command, which was made use of against our first taking arms, was no ways binding on the subjects to rise in the defence of their religion and liberties when in hazard. And we wonder that that law should be compared to our solemn engagements, which are grounded upon oaths and God's word, as touching the very matter and substance of them, as if our engagements did no more bind us now, in case of defence, than that law did bind us then. Royalists might be excused for preferring the king's will to God's; but we cannot be pardoned for equalling them: And especially while we consider that that fore-mentioned act undoubtedly hath been intended for the establishing of an arbitrary and absolute power in the king's hand, that the subjects may not have liberty to save themselves, except the king will. Where God hath given us liberty by the law of nature, or his word, no king can justly tie us; and when God binds and obliges us by any of these,

no king or parliament can loose or untie us. 3. The declaration of the Commission and Assembly upon this invasion, renews the same bond of our former engagements; yea, and speaks expressly, in the case of fewness and scarceness of instruments, against the unbelief of people that are ready in danger to choose any help. Therefore that which is said in answer, that at that time there was a choice of instruments which now is not, it may indeed condemn and falsify the declarations at that time, in the supposition of the paucity of instruments, and in the application of that doctrine and divine truth to that time, but it doth not speak any thing against the application of that truth therein contained in our time; it being more manifest, that we have greater necessity and less choice of instruments, and so in greater hazard of unbelief, and overlooking what is behind us.

3. It is of all considerations the most confounding, to reflect upon our former humiliations and fasts. How often hath it been confessed to God, as the predominant public sin of Scotland, countenancing and employing the malignant party? But when we call particularly to mind the first solemn fast after the defeat at Dunbar, astonishment takes hold on us, to think, that it is now defended as a duty, which, but some months ago, was solemnly confessed as a sin, the not purging of the army, the obstructing of that work, and great inclinations to keep in and fetch in such persons, and the repining at, and crying out against all that was done in the contrary, was then reckoned as the great cause of God's wrath, and his sad stroke upon us. What distraction may this breed in the hearts of the people of the land, to hear the same thing complained of as a great sin to-day, and commended as a necessary duty to-morrow? Is not all the land presently called to mourn for the king's sins, of which this is one, the designing a conjunction with the malignant party, and giving them warrant to rise in arms for the defence of the kingdom? Now, how shall they be able to reconcile these in their own minds, at the same time to mourn for that as a sin in the king, which they hear commended as the duty of the parliament? To fast to-day for that as the king's sin, which they must go about to-morrow as their own duty? *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice.* Heathens may rise in judgment against this generation. *Semper idem velle atque idem nolle hæc domum sapientia*

sapientia est. If any wise man be *ubique & semper sibi par & idem*, what ought a godly man to be?

4th Reason. That which is an uncertain mean of preservation of the kingdom, and a more certain mean of destruction of religion, is utterly unlawful. But the employing and entrusting of all men promiscuously, according as is holden out in the public resolutions, is, at best, an uncertain mean of the preservation of the kingdom, and is a more certain mean of the destruction of religion. *Ergo*, It is utterly unlawful. The first proposition cannot be denied. When any less good comes in opposition with a greater good, the lesser good in that respect becomes evil. We may not endanger certainly a greater good, for the probable and uncertain attainment of the lesser. The second proposition I know will be denied, as it was denied in the time of the engagement by the committee of estates. They said, the danger of religion was not infallible, that it might eventually fall out so, but not by any casualty. And thus it is pleaded now, That the danger of religion is not inevitable; that the danger of the kingdom is certain: and so these being laid in the balance together, we ought, to eschew a certain danger of the kingdom's destruction, rather hazard on a probable danger of religion.

But we shall clear this and confirm the reason. 1. The danger of the kingdom is indeed great; but it is not so certain and inevitable in case of not employing the malignant party; because there may be some competency of power beside. Now the delivery and preservation of the kingdom from this danger, by conjunction with that party, is rather improbable; because we have sentenced ourselves to destruction, if ever we should do such a thing again. We are standing under a curse, whereto we have bound over ourselves; and beside, God is in a special manner pursuing that generation, and hath raised up this enemy for their destruction; so that we may with greater probability expect to partake of their plagues, and to fall under our own curse, than to be delivered, or be instruments of deliverance to the kingdom. Or, at the best, it is uncertain: for what is more uncertain than the event of war? The battle in this sense may be said peculiarly to belong to the Lord. Now on the other hand, the danger of religion is certain and inevitable, though not simply in itself, and absolutely, (because the Lord doth in heaven and earth what he pleases), yet with a moral certainty and infallibility, which is often as great as physical certainty. Suppose these men,

men, having the power of the sword, prevail, will they not employ it according to their principles, and for attaining their own ends, which both are destructive to religion? What is more certain than that men act and speak from the abundance of the heart, when there is no outward restraint? It should be a great wonder if they who are so accustomed to do evil, should cease to do evil, when they have power and convenience to do it. Power and greatness hath corrupted many good men, shall it convert them? Can men expect other fruits from a tree than the nature of it yields? Will one seek figs on thorns, or grapes on thistles? 2. We do not see what defence it can be, for the present, to the kingdom, at least the godly and well affected in the kingdom, who will be as much troubled in their persons and estates by that party, as by the common enemy. It is known what threatenings the country is filled with, which vents that inveterate malice and hatred to all the well affected in the kingdom, which they have kept within their breast of a long time: and now they find opportunity of outing it. It is as clear as day light, that the most part of all the secluded persons look upon these that opposed them in the engagement, and shut them out of places of trust, and capacity of employment, as enemies, and as great enemies as the sectaries. And that we may know what to expect when they have full power in their hands, they have already so lift up their head, that no godly man can promise himself security in many places, and especially the faithful gentlemen and people of the West, who have given more proof of their faithfulness to the cause and kingdom against the common enemy, than any others in the land; yet are daily suffering violence from these preservers of the kingdom, while they are sufferers under the feet of the enemy. When they have no common enemy, whom, I beseech you, will they prey upon, seeing they do it already while they have an enemy?

But it is replied, That none of the least suspicion are allowed to be in such trust and power, as may be prejudicial to religion; and that an oath is to be taken of all, which is to be conceived as particular, binding and strict as possible.

Ans. 1. What a manifest receding is it from former principles, that it is now conceived, that all places of trust, excepting some few of eminent note, may be filled with secluded and debarred persons, without the prejudice of religion? It is certain that most part of officers, nominated by the parliament and shires, are not only such, of whom there is just ground
of

of suspicion, but such as have been enemies by actual opposition to the cause of God, or known underminers thereof. Can it be said in good earnest, that none, of whom is any suspicion, shall have such trust as may be prejudicial? Sure we are, there are many just grounds of suspicion and jealousy of general persons, who have chief trust in our armies: and this the public judicatories are not ignorant of. 2. Oaths and covenants are but like green cords about Samson to bind these men. Would we have them yet once again perjured; then may we tender an oath to them. Put power in their hand, and then make them swear to employ it well. 'Tis as ridiculous as to give a madman a sword, and then persuade him to hurt none with it. There is no more capitulation with such persons, retaining their old principles, than with the floods or winds. These whom that sacred bond of covenant hath not tied, what oath can bind? Except you can change their nature, do not swear them to good behaviour. Can a leopard change his spots?

5th Reason. That which gives great offence and scandal, and lays a stumbling-block in the way, both of the people of the land and our enemies, especially in the way of the godly; that is unlawful. But the present association and conjunction with all persons in the kingdom (excepting a few, if any) is scandalous and offensive to the whole land, to the godly especially, and also to the enemy: therefore it is unlawful. The major is beyond all exception, if we consider how peremptory Christ and his apostles are in the point of offence which yet few Christians do consider. We ought not only to beware of the offence of the godly, but even of wicked men, even of our blaspheming enemies. *Give no offence neither to the Jew nor Gentile, nor to the church of God.* Christ would not offend and scandalize his malicious enemies. The minor is proved. 1. There is great offence given to the godly in the kingdom by the public resolutions, concerning that conjunction with the malignant party, under the name and notion of subjects. 1. Because it is known that the most part of them are tender in that point, what fellowship they act with: and this hath been remonstrated unto the commission and committee of estates, from several synods. Now the present resolution layeth that stumbling-block in their way, that they cannot act in the defence of the kingdom: because there is no way left them, for the performing of that duty, but that which they in their consciences are not satisfied

fied with. It is a sad necessity and snare that is put upon them, that they cannot perform their bound duty, which they are most desirous of, without sin, because of the way that is taken. 2. Is it not matter of offence and stumbling to them, to be necessitated by law to that which was their affliction? The mixture that was in our armies was their grief; and their comfort was that the judicatories were minding at their duty to purge them: but now there is no hope of attaining that; all doors are shut up by the public resolutions. 3. It undoubtedly will weaken their hands, and make their hearts faint; so that they cannot pray with affection and in faith, for a blessing upon such an army, the predominant and leading part whereof have been esteemed, and are really enemies to God and his people. 4. Is it not a great offence that any thing should proceed from the public judicatories, that shall lay a necessity upon many godly in the land, to suffer, because they cannot in conscience go along with it? Next it scandalizeth the whole land. What may they think within themselves, to see such dissonancy and disagreement between present and former resolutions and practices? What may they judge of the inconstancy and levity of the commission? and be induced to give no respect and reverence to them in their resolutions. Is it not, at least, a very great appearance of evil to join with that party, that we did declare and repute, but some few weeks since, to be wicked enemies of religion and the kingdom? and look henceforth on them as friends without so much as any acknowledgement of their sin had from them? Shall not they be induced to put no difference between the precious and the vile? not to discern between him that fears God and him that fears him not, when the public resolutions put no difference? Then, how will it confirm all the malignant party in their wickedness? May they not think our solemn vows and engagements, our rigid resolutions and proceedings were but all contrived and acted of policy; and that interest and advantage, and not conscience, principled them? Have they not an occasion given them to persecute all the godly, and vent their long harboured malice against these who have been most zealous for reformation and purging of the land? Nay, they are put in the capacity that they have desired, for acting all their resolutions, and accomplishing their designs. And last of all, the present proceedings will not only encourage and animate the common enemy, but confirm them in all the imputations

putations and calumnies they have loaded our church with. May they not have ground to think, that we are but driving on a politic design and does not singly aim at God's glory? That it is not grounds of conscience acts us, but some worldly interest, when they look upon the inconstancy and changeableness of our way and course, which is so accommodated to occasions and times? Can they think us men of conscience, that will join with all these men of blood, before we will so much as speak with them? It is replied, that the scandal is taken, and not given; which must not be stood upon, in the case of a necessary duty. But, 1. We cleared, that there is no necessity of that conjunction; therefore the scandal is given, seeing it is known beforehand that it will be taken. 2. There are many grounds of offence given by the present resolutions, as appears by what is said. If it were no more, it is a great appearance of evil; it is very inductive of many evils; a most fit occasion of all that is spoken; and besides, it is in itself sinful; contrary to God's, and our oaths.

6th Reason. That which makes glad all the wicked and enemies of God in the land, and sad many, if not most part, of the godly, hath much appearance and evidence, if not certainty, of evil, is unlawful. But the public resolutions and proceedings are such. *Ergo*—Or thus: That which makes glad all the wicked, and heightens the hopes and expectations of the malignant party, and makes sad none almost but the godly, and discourages their spirits; that, proceeding from the public judicatories, cannot be right and lawful: But so it is, that that which proceeds from the public judicatories, makes glad all the hearts of the wicked, and makes sad none, almost, but the godly; heightens the hopes of the malignants, and makes them say, their day is coming, *Lo we have seen it*; and discourages the godly, and makes them almost say, *Our hope is cut off, our glory is departed*. *Ergo*, It cannot be right, at least it hath a great and convincing appearance of evil.

This argument may be thought more popular, than either philosophical or scriptural: But such an argument the General Assembly, 1648, made use of against the engagement. It is no ways imaginable, how the wicked and ungodly in the land, would so insult and rejoice in this day, if they saw not some legible characters upon it, which were agreeable to their own principles and ends. The children of God are, for the most part, *Led by the Spirit of God, and taught the way they should choose*, John xvi. 13. Psal. xxv. 12. So that readily

they do not skunner at courses approven of God : But the children of the world being, at best, led by their own carnal minds and senses, and, for the most part, acted by a spirit of disobedience and enmity against God, they use not to rejoice at things that do not suit with their carnal hearts, and are not engraven with the character of that which is imprinted in their spirits. We see now *that the wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted. And when the wicked rise, the righteous is hidden : and when they bear rule, the people mourneth : but when righteous men are in authority, the people do rejoice : and when the righteous rejoiceth, there is great glory,* Psal. xii. 8. Prov. xxviii. 12. and xxix. 2.

7th Reason. That which is the accomplishment and perfecting of the malignant design, that hath been driven on these years past, especially since the unlawful engagement, it cannot be a course approven of God : But the present course is the accomplishment of that design. *Ergo*, That there hath been a design, for a long time, driven and endeavoured, both at home and abroad, with much policy and industry, by many turnings and windings, and by arguments of several kinds, as the exigence of the times did furnish : and that the design was, to have all such persons in trust and power again, who had been secluded, that so they might compass their own ends, hath not been denied hitherto ; and we are persuaded no man that fears God, and observes the times, is ignorant of it. Let the public papers of the treaty at Breda, and the public papers of this kingdom and church at home, be consulted ; they bear witness for us. Was not the foundation of it laid in Holland ? Many of them in both nations, brought home with the king contrary to public resolutions, and by the prevailing influence of some in the state, kept in the kingdom, contrary to public resolutions ? Was not the work of purging judicatories and armies obstructed ; the godly discountenanced and discouraged ; great endeavours used to raise the malignants in the South and in England ; and, since the defeat, to raise all without exception in the North, but when that could not be obtained, by the withstanding of honest men in the state ? The levies appointed, which would have been a considerable force for the defence of the kingdom, was rendered wholly ineffectual ; partly by taking money for men ; partly by raising the malignant party, and then pretending to go against them : They were pacified by an act of indemnity, the fruit and result of all which is, this present

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present conjunction with them, and putting the power of judicatories and armies in their hand. Thus the design is completed.

8th Reason. That which will increase the Lord's indignation and controversy against the land, yet seven times more, that is very unlawful and unseasonable: But so it is, that confederacy and association with the people of these abominations, will increase the Lord's indignation and controversy seven times more. *Ergo*, The assumption was as manifest and uncontroverted as the proposition, a few months ago, but it is begun now to be questioned by some, *qui quod sciunt nesciunt, quia sapiunt*. But we shall evince it. 1. We are standing under such a sentence, which we deliberately and sincerely past upon ourselves, in the days of our vows to God, that if we did ever any more join with the people of these abominations, the Lord would consume us till there was no remnant. And this was not done in rashness but in sobriety, and with a scripture president, Ezra ix. 12, 13. 2. Our experience hath made this clear to us. We never did mingle ourselves among them, but the Lord did pursue us with indignation, and stamped that sin, as in vive characters, upon our judgment. God hath set upon that rock, that we have so oft split upon, a remarkable beacon. Therefore we do not only in our solemn engagements, bind ourselves over to a curse, in case of relapsing, but passes the sentence of great madness and folly on ourselves. *Piscator ictu sapit*. Experience makes fools wise, but it cannot cure madness. Did not that mixture provoke God at Dunbar? And is this the way to appease him, to revolt more and more? 3. Conjunction and confederacy with that party, doth necessarily infer a communion in blessings and plagues; we must cast in our lot with them, and have all one purse. Now it hath been confessed and declared by this church, that God hath a notable controversy with that party, that this enemy is in an eminent way to bear them down and crush them. Therefore if we join with them, we must resolve to partake of their plagues, and have that controversy pleaded against us also.

It is answered, That indignation need not be feared simply on this account, because the means are lawful and necessary; else, if this have any force, it will conclude, that we should lie down and do nothing, because God's indignation is upon the whole land.

But we reply, 1. Though it be true, that this enemy is the

rod of God's indignation against the whole land; yet it is certain to us, and hath been formerly unquestioned, that they are raised up, in a special way, to execute God's wrath on malignants, and God doth arm them with power in a signal manner for that end. Besides, the Lord's anger and indignation against his enemies is such, as will burn and none can quench it: it is of another nature than his wrath against his own people, which is a hiding of his face for a moment. He corrects us in measure and judgment, but leaves us not altogether unpunished: But he makes an end of other nations, especially these that rise up to actual enmity and hatred of his people, and shedding of their blood. And therefore, if any man would not meet with wrath and sore displeasure, he would stand at a distance with such, as God hath appointed for destruction; we mean, as long as they carry in their foreheads the mark of the beast. When God hath such a remarkable controversy against a people, then *he that helpeth and he that is helped, shall both fall together*, Isa. xxxi. 3. All that is in league with them, shall fall with them by the sword, Ezek. xxx. 5. and xxxii. 21. 2. Since it is known that the malignant party have not changed their principles, and so they cannot but in prosecuting this war establish their old quarrel and follow it, *to wit*, The king's arbitrary power; the interest of man above God's, or the kingdom's interest. We leave it to be judged impartially, whether or not these that associate with them, do espouse that quarrel and interest, at least expose themselves to all that wrath and indignation, which hath hitherto followed that quarrel, seeing they must have common blessings and curses. Will not that quarrel held up by most part of the army, be *a wicked thing, an Achan in the camp*, that will make God turn away from it and put Israel to shame?

Having thus established the truth, in the next place, we come to take off what objections are made to the contrary.

First, It is argued from human authority. The uncontroverted and universal practise of all nations in all generations, is, to employ all subjects in the case of necessary just defence. It was the practise of our reformers, who took in to the congregation, and received all that, upon acknowledgement of their error, was willing to join, though they had been on the contrary faction. Such an universal practise of Christian nations, though it be not the ground of our faith, yet it is apparent that it cannot want reason for it.

Answe.

Ans. 1. This will plead as much against the exceptions added in the answer to the query and act of levy; for seeing other nations except none, in the case of necessary defence, why should we except any? And if once we except any, upon good and convincing grounds, upon the same ground we ought to except far more. 2. Mr. Gillespie, in his *Treatise of Miscellany Questions*, makes mention that the city of Strasburg, 1626, made a defensive league with Zurich, Berne, and Basil; because they were not only neighbours, but men of the same religion. And the elector of Saxony refused to take into confederacy, these who differed from him in the point of the Lord's supper; lest such sad things should befall him, as befall these in scripture, who used any means of their own defence. This rule was good in *Thess.*, though in that case misapplied. Now then, if they made conscience of choosing means of their own defence, a confederacy with foreigners; may not the same ground lead us to a distance with our own countrymen, as unqualified, who have nothing to commend them but that they are of the same nation, which is nothing in point of conscience. 3. The practice of other nations, that are not tender in many greater points, cannot be very convincing: especially, when we consider that the Lord hath made light to arise, in this particular, more bright than in former times. God hath taken occasion of illustrating and commending many truths unto us in this generation, from the darkness of error, and of making straight many rules, from the crookedness of mens practice and walking. Is not the Lord now performing the promise of *purging out the rebels* from among us and *them that transgress*? God hath winked at former times of ignorance, but now, the Lord having cleared his mind so to us, how great madness were it *to forsake our own mercy, and despise the counsel of God against our own souls*? As for that instance of our reformers, there could not have been any thing brought more prejudicial to that cause, and more advantageous for us. After they were twice beaten by the French in Leith, and their forces scattered, and the leaders and chief men of the congregation forced to retire to Stirling; John Knox, preaching upon the eightieth psalm, and searching the causes of God's wrath against them, he condescends upon this as the chief cause, That they had received into their councils and forces, such men as had formerly opposed the congregation; and says, God never bless them, since the Duke had come among them. See

Knox

Knox' Chron. 2. It cannot be shewed that ever they took in a party and faction of such men, but only some few persons; which, though it was not altogether justifiable, yet more excusable. But now the public resolutions hold forth a conjunction with all the bloody murderers in the kingdom (excepting very few), and these without profession of repentance in many, and without evidence of the reality of it almost in any. 3 These persons were not such as had once joined with the congregation, and relapsed and become enemies to it; but they turned to the protestant religion from popery: But ours is a different case.

2. It is argued from scripture. Three scripture instances are brought to justify the present proceedings. The first instance is from the practice of God's people in the book of Judges, who, when for defection from religion they were brought under oppression, yet when any governor was raised by God for their defence, they gathered and came all out promiscuously, notwithstanding a great part of them had been in the defection; yet it is not found that their governors are reprov'd for this, but rather sad curses on them that came not out to the work, Judges v. 15, 16, 17, 23. The second instance is from the story of the kings, very like the first; when, after defection, gracious reforming kings arose, and had to do against foreign invasion, we find them not debarring any subjects, but calling them out promiscuously: Neither is this laid to their charge, that they called out such and such subjects, though we may perceive by the story of the prophets, that the greater part of the body of the people were wicked, &c.

We answer to these two instances jointly. 1. We may by the like reason prove, that which is as yet uncontroverted (we know not how long), That we ought at no time to make choice of instruments, neither in case of prosecution of the cause and the invasion of others, nor yet in the time when choice is to be had; and so, that all our former engagements, resolutions and proceedings, in the point of purging judicatories and armies, was superfluous and supererogatory: because we read not that the reforming kings or judges, whenever they had an invasive war, and in the times that they had greatest plenty and multitudes of people, did ever debar any of their subjects from that service, but called them out promiscuously. Neither is this laid to their charge; though we may perceive that the greater part of the people were

were wicked under the best kings: therefore we may lawfully employ any subjects of the kingdom in any of our wars. And we may look upon all indifferently, without any discerning of persons that fear God and them that fear him not, as in good capacity to be entrusted, even when otherwise we have choice of instruments. Certainly it follows, by parity of reason: for if you conclude that, from the calling forth all promiscuously, and no reproof given for it in the case of necessary defence; then we may conclude, from the calling forth of all promiscuously, and in the case of an invasive war, and no reproof recorded, that neither, in such a case, it is sinful to make no difference, and that with strong reasons: because it being more easy in such a case to choose instruments and no necessity pleading for it: if it had been sinful, the prophets would have rather reproved it, than rebuked them for using such means in a case of necessity. 2. We may argue after that manner, that in the case of necessary just defence, there should be no exceptions made at all of any persons; because we read not that the judges or kings debarred any subjects, neither that they were rebuked for so doing. Therefore the instances militate as much against the exceptions added in the answer to the query, as against us; unless it be said that there was no such persons among that people, which were as groundless rashness as to say that they gave all evidence of repentance. 3. Seeing the judges and reforming kings of Judah, were so accurate and exact in cleaving to the law of God, and walking according to it in all other things; it were more charitable and Christian judgment to say, that since they are not reproved for any fault in particular, that they were also exact to walk according to the rule, Deut. xxiii. in so great a point as this. 4. Mens practice is often lame and crooked, and therefore must be examined according to the rule; but it were not fair dealing to accommodate the rule to mens practice. Seeing then we have so clear and perfect a rule, Deut. xxiii. which must judge both their practice and ours; we see not how their practice can be obtruded as a rule upon us, which itself must be examined according to a common and general rule. If it be not according to that law, we hold it to be sinful in itself, and so no president for us, albeit the prophets did not reprove it in express and particular terms (as they did not reprove man-stealing, &c.) yet they rebuked it by consequence in as far as they rebuked the kings for association with wicked

ed-Israelites, which is condemned upon grounds common to this very case in hand. 5. We see not any ground for such promiscuous calling forth of the people by the judges. Bazarak's business, as that of Jephthah and Gideon, was done by no great multitudes of people, but a few choice men. 6. As the oppression was heavy and continued long; so the repentance of the people was solemn, and their deliverance a fruit of this. 7. Their case and ours is very different; none of Israel or Judah, did fight against the profession of the true religion, and shed the blood of their fellow-subjects who were for the defence of the same. Israel in the days of the judges, and Judah in the time of the reforming kings, was not divided the one half against the other, upon opposition and defence of the true religion; and the better part, after many experiences of the treachery and enmity of the most of the worst part, solemnly engaged to God, not to admit them to employment and trust, but upon real evidence of repentance, of which they should judge as in the sight of God. And last of all, did ever Israel or Judah, in the days of their judges and reforming kings, admit into their armies, a party and faction of such as had given no real evidence of their abandoning their former course; and such a party, as had been long studying to get the power of armies and judicatories in their own hands for attaining their own ends? But all those are in our case.

The third instance from scripture, is from 1 Sam. xi. which is alledged to be a clear practice, and stamped with divine approbation. In the case of Jabesh-Gilead besieged by a foreign enemy, Saul commands all to come forth for defence of their brethren, under pain of a severe civil censure. Now, what Saul did in this business, the Spirit of God is said to act him to it, and what the people did, was from the fear of God, making them obey the king: And then Samuel in this acting concurs jointly, and makes no opposition; and last of all, the people came forth as one man; and yet chap. x. 27. many men of Belial were among them, who malignantly opposed Saul's government, contrary to God's revealed will.

To which we answer, 1. The stamp of divine approbation is not apparent to us, success doth not prove it; neither the Spirit coming on Saul, nor the fear of God falling on the people, will import a divine approbation of all that was done in the managing that war. That motion of the Spirit is no sanctifying

sanctifying motion; but a common, though extraordinary, impulse of Saul's spirit to the present work, which, doubtless, was in the king of Babylon, whom God raised up, fitted and sent for the destruction of many nations: albeit that work in his hand was iniquity. That fear of God that fell upon the people, was but a fear of the king imprinted by God, and it is more peculiarly attributed to God, because the people did despise and contemn him, which makes their reverence and fear to be a more extraordinary thing upon a sudden. Then, Samuel not opposing the course in hand, doth no more import his approbation of all that was done in it, than his not reproving the men of Belial, doth prove that he approved of their opposition. 2. It doth not appear that the men of Belial were a great faction and party; there is something in *ver. 12.* speaks against it. It is not like the people would put a faction and party to death. 3. Neither doth it appear that they were in the army; for that which is said, that all the people came out as one man, doth only import, that the body and generality of them came forth; and that it was a wonder so many came forth so suddenly at the command of the king, who was but mean and abject in their eyes. It is certain that all sensible people were not present, because the whole army being numbered, *ver. 8.* was but 330,000. And who will say there was no more men in Israel, when they had 600,000 such, and above, before their coming into the land? Seeing then, many have staid at home, it is most probable that these men of Belial would not come, seeing they despised Saul's mean and low condition in their heart, and thought him unfit to lead their armies, till he should prove what was in him. That which is said, *ver. 12.* doth not prove they were in the camp; it might be conveniently spoken of absent persons. 4. It is not certain that these men were wicked and scandalous in their conversation; haters of godliness and of their brethren; but that they stood at distance only with Saul, in the point of his election; which indeed was blame-worthy, seeing God had revealed his mind in it: and therefore they are called Men of Belial, as Peter was called Satan, for opposing Christ's suffering.

Some other scriptures are alledged by some, as David's employing of such men, &c. all which are cleared in Mr. Gillespie's Treatise of Miscellany Questions. quest. 14.

3. It is argued from reason. And, 1. That which any is obliged to do for another's preservation by the law of God

and nature, and which he cannot omit without the guilt of the other's destruction, that may the other lawfully require of him to do when he needs it, and when it may be done without the undoing of a greater good; but so it is, that every subject is obliged by the law of nature, oath and covenants, and the law of God, to endeavour to their power, the preservation of the kingdom against unjust violence: And the safety of the kingdom stands in need of many subjects' assistance who were secluded; and it may be done without undoing a greater good than is the preservation of religion.

Ergo,

This argument hath an answer to it in the bosom of it. 1. We shortly deny the assumption, in relation to the two last branches, both that the kingdom's preservation stands in necessity of these mens help: And that their help tends not to the undoing of a greater good, seeing there is no reason given to confirm these two points, wherein the nerve of the business lies, we refer to a Reason of our denial of them given p. 29. 2. It is true that the obligation to such a duty lies upon all; but that obligation is to be brought in act and exercise in an orderly and qualified way, else what needed any exceptions be in the act of levy? Excommunicated persons are under the same obligation, yet the magistrate is not actually obliged to call such, but rather to seclude them. Are not all bound to come to the sacrament who are church members? yet many are not in a capacity to come, and so ought neither to presume to come, nor be admitted. Are not all subjects obliged to defend the cause of God, and to prosecute it? and yet many, because of their enmity to the cause of God, are actually incapable of employment in the defence or prosecution thereof. 3. The law of nature is above all human laws and constitutions, they must cede whenever they come in opposition to it, *Salus populi is suprema Lex* in relation to these: But in relation to the law of God it is not so; sometimes the law of nature must yield to positive commands of God. Abraham must sacrifice his son at God's command. The law of nature obliges us to the preservation of ourselves, but it does not oblige to every mean that may be found expedient to that end, unless it be supposed lawful and approved of God. Therefore the Lord in his written word doth determine, what means we may use for that end, and what not. But, 4. We conceive that the law forbidding association and confederacy with known wicked

ed and ungodly persons, is included in the law of nature, as well as the law that obliges us to self-preservation; that is grounded on perpetual reason, as well as this. Nature bids me preserve myself, and nature binds me to have one friend and foe with God. The heathens had a notion of it; they observed, that Amphiaraus, a wise and virtuous man, was therefore swallowed up in the earth, with seven men and seven horses, because he had joined himself and associated with Tydeus, Capaneus and other wicked commanders marching to the siege of Thebe. Mr. Gill. Miscell. Quest. chap. 14. p. 171.

2. The second reason is framed thus in *Hypothesi*. Such as are excluded are a great part, if not the greater part, of the remnant of the land, if rules of exclusion be extended impartially. Now, they having their lives and liberties allowed them, must either in these things be ensured by the interposing of a competent power for their defence, or else they must have liberty to act for themselves. But so it is, that we cannot interpose a competent power for their protection. *Ergo*, They must have liberty to act for themselves. *Nam qui dat vitam, dat necessaria ad vitam.*

We answer, 1. It is not certain that such as are excluded are the greater part of the land; however, it is certain, that though the rule had been kept, and endeavours had been used to walk according to it, yet many whom it excludes would have been taken in. There is a great difference between endeavour of duty, and attaining its perfection. If the rule had not been quite destroyed, so great offence could not have been taken, though it had not been strictly urged in all particulars.

2. We still affirm, upon evident grounds to us, that there is a power competent in the land, beside the malignant party, which may protect the land and ensure their lives and liberties. 3. We are persuaded many of that party, who have been so deeply involved in blood guiltiness and barbarous cruelties, should neither have lives nor liberties secured to them: because they ought not to be permitted to live. But the not taking away so much guilty blood from the land by acts of justice, is the cause that so much innocent and precious blood is now shed. Our rulers have pardoned that blood which God would not pardon: and therefore would not pardon it to the land, because they pardoned it to the murderers.

Sect. 4. That it is not lawfull for the well affected subjects to concur in such an engagement in war, and associate with the malignant party.

SOME convinced of the unlawfulness of the public resolutions and proceedings, in reference to the employing of the malignant party, yet do not find such clearness and satisfaction in their own consciences as to forbid the subjects to concur in this war, and associate with the army so constituted. Therefore it is needful to speak something to this point, *That it is as unlawful for the subjects to associate and join in arms with that party, as it is for the parliament to employ them.* For these reasons.

1. The scriptures before cited against associations and confederacies with wicked and ungodly men do prove this. The command prohibiting conjunction with them and conversing, &c. is common both to magistrates and people: for the ground of it is common to both. *The peoples ensnaring, helping of the ungodly, &c.* It were strange doctrine to say, that it is not lawful for the parliament to associate in war with the malignants, lest the people be ensnared: and yet it is lawful for the people to associate with them upon the command of the parliament, seeing the ensnaring of the people hath a more immediate connexion with the peoples conjunction with them, nor with the parliament's resolution about it. Had it not been a transgression in all the people to have joined with these men before the parliament's resolution about it? How then can their resolution intervening loose the people from their obligation to God's command? Shall it be no sin to me, because they sin before me? Can their going before me in the transgression, exempt me from the transgression of that same law which obliges both them and me? 2. The people were reprov'd for such associations as well as rulers, though they originated from the rulers. The prophets speak to the whole body. *What hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, &c.* Jer. ii. 18. And Isa. xxxi. *Wo to them that go down to Egypt.* Psal. cvi. *They mingled themselves, &c.* The Lord instructed Isaiah, and in him all his own people, all the children whom God had given him, saying, *Say not ye, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy,* Isa. viii. 12. When all the people were going on in such a mean of self-defence, the Lord instructed him

him and the disciples among whom the testimony was sealed, that they should not walk in the way of this people. When Jehoshaphat was reprov'd for helping the ungodly, was not all his people reprov'd that went with him? They were the helpers of the ungodly as well as he. If Amariah had refused to dismiss the army of Israel whom God was not with, doubtless it had been the subject's duty to testify against it, and refuse to concur and act in such a fellowship.

3. If the association and conjunction with malignants be only the sin of the parliament, and not the sin of the people, who do upon their command associate with them; then we cannot see how people can be guilty of association with malignants at any time, and in any case. To join with them in an ill cause is not lawful indeed; but neither may we join with good men in an evil cause. Suppose then the cause be good and necessary (as no war is just if it be not necessary) in what case or circumstances shall association with them be unlawful for the people? If it be said, in case the magistrate command it not, we think that strange divinity, that the sole command of the magistrate should make that our duty, which in absence of his command is our sin; and that not because of the absence of his command but from other perpetual grounds. Certainly, whenever association with them is a sin, it is not that which makes it a sin because the magistrate commands it not, but because God forbids it. And it is as strange, that the unlawful and sinful resolution of parliament should make that lawful to me which otherwise had not been lawful. It is known that human laws oblige not, but as they have connexion with God's word. Now if that law, enjoining a confluence of all subjects for the defence of the kingdom, be contrary to the word, in as far as it holds out a conjunction with malignant and bloody men, how can it be lawful to me, in obedience to that ordinance, to associate with these men? If it be said to be lawful in the case of necessity, that same necessity is as strong a plea for the magistrates employing them, as for the peoples joining with them: and if it do not justify that, it cannot excuse this. If the lawfulness of the mean must be measured by the justice and necessity of the end; then certainly any mean shall be lawful in the case of just and necessary defence; then we may employ Irish cut-throats; then we may go to the devil for help, if expediency to compass such a necessary and just end be the rule of the lawfulness of the mean.

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4. The whole land is bound by the covenant and solemn engagement not to associate with the malignant party: *Ergo*, It is as sinful for the people to join with them as for the magistrate to employ them. Are we not all bound by covenant, to endeavour to bring malignants to condign punishment, and to look on them as enemies? And is not conjunction and confederacy with them, on the peoples part, as inconsistent in its own nature with that duty, as the magistrate's employing them is inconsistent with his covenanted duty? When all the people did solemnly engage themselves not to join any more with the people of these abominations, was the meaning of it, We shall not join until our rulers join first; or, We shall not join with them in an ill cause? No indeed; but we shall not employ them in a good cause, or join with any party of them in it. If that engagement be upon every one in their station, let us consider what every man's station in the work is. The ruler's station and calling is to choose instruments, and levy forces for the defence thereof. The subject's station and calling is, to concur in that work, by rising in defence of the cause and kingdom. Now, what did the subject then engage unto? Certainly, unless we mock God, we must say, that as the magistrate engaged not to employ that ungodly generation in a good cause, so the subject engaged not to join with any such party even in a good cause. If this be not the meaning of our engagements and vows, we see not how the subjects are in capacity to break them, as to that precise point of association.

In sum, All the reasons that are brought to prove the unlawfulness of the public resolutions, may with a little variation be proportionably applied to this present question. Therefore we add no more but a word to an objection or two.

Object. 1. A necessary duty, such as self-preservation is, cannot be my sin. But it is the subject's necessary duty to rise in defence of the kingdom. *Ergo, Answ.* A necessary duty cannot be a sin in itself, but it may be a sin in regard of some circumstances, in which it ceases to be a necessary duty. It is a necessary duty to defend the kingdom: but it is neither a duty nor necessary to do it such a conjunction and fellowship, but rather a sin. If I cannot preserve myself, but by an unlawful mean, then self-preservation in such circumstances, is not my duty.

Object. 2. Jonathan did assist Saul in a war against the Philistines invading the land, and no doubt many godly joined and

and died in battle. Now this is commended in scripture, as may be seen in David's funeral upon them; although it was known that Saul was an hater of God's people and a persecutor, and that God had a controversy with him, and that these 3000 that assisted him against David were also ungodly and wicked men. *Answ.* 1. These scriptures speak nothing to commend that particular act of Jonathan's conjunction in war with his father. David in his epitaph speaks much to the commendation of both Saul and Jonathan, as of excellent warriors; and of Jonathan as a kind and constant friend to him: but there is nothing touched of that point. If that place be pressed, it will follow with much more evidence, that Saul was as good a man as Jonathan, and that the people of God had great loss in his death. But none of these must be pressed rigorously from a speech wherein he vents his affection and grief. 2. Suppose the natural bond of Jonathan to Saul his father, and the civil bonds of the people to Saul their king, did oblige them to join with him against the common enemy; yet we think they ought not to have associated with these persecuting servants, and the 3000 that pursued David; but they ought to have pleaded for a purging of the army. 3. It is not probable that there were many godly persons employed in that army. David complains of that time, Psal. xii. *That the godly man ceased, and the faithful from among the children of men: and that the wicked walked round about when the vilest men were exalted.* 4. Many of the laws of God have not been much taken notice of, even by godly men, until the Lord hath taken occasion to reprove them particularly, and so to mind them of their duty. It is like the rule, Deut. xxiii. hath not been considered till the time of Jehoshaphat and Amaziah, &c.

Sect. 5. *Scriptures shewing the sin and danger of joining with wicked and ungodly men.*

WHEN the Lord is punishing such a people against whom he hath a controversy, and a notable controversy, *every one that is found shall be thrust through: and every one joined with them shall fall,* Isa. xiii. 15. They partake in their judgment, not only because in a common calamity all shares, as in Ezek. xxi. 3. but chiefly because joined with and partakers with these whom God is pursuing. Even as the strangers that join to the house of Jacob partake of her

her blessings, chap. xiv. 1. To this purpose is Na. xxxi. 2, 3. and Ezek. xxx. 5, 6, 8. The mingled people and these that are in league with Egypt partake in her plagues, and these that uphold that throne that God so visibly controverts with, *their power shall come down, and all its helpers shall be destroyed*, as it is Jer. xxi. 12, 20, 24. And this is the great reason of these many warnings to go out of Babylon, Jer. l. 8. and li. 6. Remember that passage, 2 Kings i. 9, 10, 11, 12. the captain and messenger of the king speaks but a word in obedience to his wicked master's command, and the fifty are but with him and speak not: but their master's judgment comes on them all.

Consider how many testimonies the wise king, in his Proverbs, gives against it. Chap. i. from ver. 10, to 19. *My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not. If they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause. Let us swallow them up alive as the grave, and whole as those that go down into the pit. We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil. Cast in thy lot among us, let us have one purse. My son, walk not thou in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path. For their feet run to evil, and make hast to shed blood, &c.* Here are the practices and designs of wicked men expressed in their own nature: but certainly they would colour them over with fair pretences; their purpose is to undo men, especially godly men that clasped and purged them. Yea, it is the profession of many, and they scarce lie privily, or have so much wisdom as to conceal their designs till their fit opportunity: but before the power be confirmed in their hand, they breathe out cruelty against all the innocent in the land, and promise themselves great gain by it, and are already dividing their estates among them, saying, *we shall find all precious substance*, ver. 13. But, my son, if thou fear God, though they entice thee with specious arguments of *nature*, and *necessity*, and *country privileges*, yet consent not. Venture not thy stock in one vessel with them: cast not in thy lot among them. *Walk not in the way with them: refrain thy foot from their path*: for they are not come to the height of iniquity, they are running on to it: And if thou join, thou wilt cast thyself in a miserable snare; for either thou must go on with them to their designed and professed evils, or be exposed to their cruelty.

Chap. ii. from ver. 10. to the end. *When wisdom entereth into*

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into thine heart, and knowledge is pleasant to thy soul, discretion shall preserve thee, understanding shall keep thee. To deliver thee from the way of the evil man, from the man that speaketh froward things. Who leave the paths of uprightness, to walk in the ways of darkness, &c. If thou take the word of God for a lamp to thy feet, and it enter into thy soul, and be received in love and affection, it will certainly keep thee from the evil man's way, who have already left the righteous paths to walk in the ways of darkness, who rejoice in nothing so much as in the sorrows and miseries of the godly, and delight in one another's wickedness. And it will keep thee chaste to thy husband Christ Jesus, and preserve thee from committing fornications with Egypt as Aholah and Aholibah, and joining so nearly with the degenerated seed of Abraham, who are but as strangers: for come near their house and paths, and they will lead thee to destruction with them, or make thee a more miserable life: But these that go to them return not again quickly; they are like fallen stars, shall they ever be set in the firmament again? It is safest to walk with good and righteous men: for God's blessing and promise is on them. His curse and threatening is on the wicked: therefore thou may fear wrath on that account, if thou join with them.

Chap. iv. ver. 14, to 20. Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men. Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away. For they sleep not except they have done mischief: and their sleep is taken away except they cause some to fall. For they eat the bread of wickedness, and drink the wine of violence. But the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The way of the wicked is as darkness: and they know not at what they stumble. It was said, chap. iii. 23. that the man who keeps wisdom and the fear of God in his heart, should walk in the way and not stumble. That safety hath ease in it here, their steps are not straitened, as when a man walks in steep and hazardous places, which cannot choose but it will be, if a man enter into the path of wicked men, he must either go along in their way with them, and then it is broad indeed; or, if he think to keep a good conscience in it, he will be pinched and straitened: therefore it is most free for the mind and conscience to avoid and pass by that way: for they sleep not, &c. they will never be satisfied till they have done mischief, they will live upon the ruins of the poor country.

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And how wilt thou join in that? Or how can thou eschew it if thou walk with them? If it were no more, 'tis a suspected by-path, that thou never travelled into. O pass by it; or, if thou be entered, turn out of it. If thou wilt enter upon the apprehension of some light and duty in it, know that it is but evening, sun is setting, and thou wilt be benighted ere it be long: and thou shalt stumble then and not know whereupon, even on that thou sees now and thinks to eschew and pass by. Then from *ver. 25*, to the end. *Keep thy heart with all diligence: for out of it are the issues of life, &c.* Except thou keep thy heart and whole man, thou cannot escape falling into some temptation: O keep thy heart diligently on the knowledge and love of the truth. Take heed to thy words. Look not a-squint but directly to that which is good. Give not a squint look to any unlawful course, for the necessity or utility it may be seems to attend it. But look straight on, and ponder well thy way thou walks in, that thou run to no extremity either to one party or other; That thou walk in the middle way between profanity and error, thou held these ways hitherto for extremes. Ponder, I beseech thee then, before thou walk in any of them; see whether they be really come to thee, or thou to them. Mark who is changed.

Chap. v. 8, to the 15. *Remove thy way far from her: and come not near the door of her house. Lest thou give thine honour unto others, and thy years unto the cruel. Lest strangers be filled with thy wealth, and thy labours be in the house of a stranger. And thou mourn at last, when thy flesh and thy body are consumed; and say, How have I hated instruction, and my heart despised reproof? And have not obeyed the voice of my teachers, nor inclined mine ear to them that instructed me, &c.* If thou would be safe from snares, remove from the way and house of the strange woman. Thou must fall in Aholah and Aholibah's whoredoms, Ezek. xxiii. except thou come not near them. If thou keep not from that assembly and congregation, thou shalt be *almost in all evil*. If thou join with them, thou cannot but partake of their sins and plagues; and so thou shalt say after, when thou cannot well mend it, *I was near gone, my steps almost gone, and all the assembly of his people shall witness to it.*

Chap. vi. 16, 17, 18, 24, 25. *These six things doth the Lord hate, yea seven are an abomination unto him. A proud look, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood. An heart*
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that deviseth wicked imaginations, feet that be swift in running to mischief. To keep thee from the strange woman, from the flattery of the tongue of a strange woman. Lust not after her beauty in thine heart; neither let her take thee with her eye-lids. Describes both our enemies, the malignant party and the sectarian. Pride, violence, cruelty, lying, is the very character of the one. Flattery, beauty of pretended religion, false witnessing and charging of the Lord's people, and seeking to sow discord among these that were one in heart and work, is the character of the other. Now, keep thee from both these abominations: and do not think, it is in thy power not to be infected with the contagion of their fellowship. *Can a man take fire in his bosom and his clothes not be burnt? Can one go on hot coals and not burn his feet?* So whoever associates and goes in friendly to either of them shall not be innocent, ver. 27, 28, 29.

Chap. vii. 14, &c. *I have peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my vows.* They pretend religion on both sides. And our church says, The malignants have satisfied them, and repented, even like the peace-offerings and vows of the whore. She began with her devotion, that she might with more liberty sin more, and have that pretence to cover it; and by means of her offerings, she got a feast of the flesh. Even as they by profession of repentance are admitted to trust; and by offering for the like sin, a new sin is covered, and vows undertaken never to be kept. Therefore take heed of these snares: *For she hath cast down many strong,* ver. 26. Many a tall cedar hath fallen by that fellowship. It is the way to hell, ver. 27. See chap. viii. 13.

Chap. x. Shews us the very different estate of the godly and wicked, both in regard of light and knowledge concerning duty, and of blessings promised. Ver. 6, 9, 11, 20, 23. *Blessings are upon the head of the just: but violence covereth the mouth of the wicked. He that walketh uprightly, walketh surely: but he that perverteth his ways, shall be known. The mouth of a righteous man is a well of life: but violence covereth the mouth of the wicked. The tongue of the just is as choice silver: the heart of the wicked is little worth. It is as a sport to a fool to do mischief: but a man of understanding hath wisdom,* &c. ver. 24, 25, 28, 31, 32. Which shews us, that if the Lord's mind be revealed to any concerning the present courses, it must be to his poor people that wait on him, and not to all the wicked and ungodly in the land, who almost

only are satisfied and clear in the course, who yet before were never satisfied. And beside, though the Lord be chastising his people, yet one may join with them without fear of wrath and indignation on that account, and with hope of partaking of their blessings, when he cannot and dare not join with a wicked party pursued with wrath and indignation in the same dispensation. Which may be more clear from chap. xi. 3, 5, 8 *The integrity of the upright shall guide them: but the perverseness of transgressors shall destroy them. The righteousness of the perfect shall direct his way: but the wicked shall fall by his own wickedness. The righteous is delivered out of trouble and the wicked cometh in his stead.* And ver. 10, 11. shews the different condition of people under wicked rulers and godly. All the wicked now rejoice; none shouts but them, they think their day is come: the godly generally hang their head and are discountenanced. Even as Psal. xii. The 21, and 31 ver. shews that when godly men are chastised and punished in the earth for their sins, much more wicked, especially when the godly were chastised for partaking with them, according to 1 Pet. iv. 17, 18. Isa. x. 12. and xlix. 12.

Chap. xii. 13. *They are snared by the transgression of their lips;* their ordinary common speeches they drop out with, declare them and make their cause more hateful than other pretences it is covered with would permit. Yea, they speak like the piercings of a sword against the godly, ver. 11. If our state and church had a lip of truth, they would speak always the same thing, they would not carry in their talk and writings, as now every common understanding perceives. We may find their writings made up of contradictions: *For a lying tongue is but for a moment,* ver. 19. It is but for a moment indeed before the judicatory, and then out of doors it contradicts itself, as in the mock repentances. But sorrow and anguish will come to these, who before they would speak of terms of peace with one enemy, would associate in war with another. *But to the counsellors of peace is joy,* ver. 20. The present course contradicts this. Ver. 26. *The righteous is more excellent than his neighbour: but the way of the wicked seduceth him.* They think these malignants better than the west country forces; they would condescend to any terms to get their help, though it were to ranverse the Act of Classes, to give them indemnity; yea, not so much as to condemn their way: but they will not so much as clear the state of the quarrel, or choose a better general for all their help.

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Their way seems good in their own eyes, ver. 15. But it were wisdom to hearken to the counsel of the godly.

Chap. xiii. 10. *Only by pride cometh contention: but with the well advised is wisdom.* There is nothing keepeth up our contention and wars but pride: no party will condescend to another. We will not say we have done wrong in bringing in the king; they will not say they have done wrong in invading: But it were wisdom to fall lower and quit those interests. Ver. 16. *Every prudent man dealeth with knowledge; but a fool layeth open his folly.* A wise man would count before the war, if he can accomplish it: and if he cannot, then he would send messengers of peace, and cede in all things he may without sin. If it be but more honour and wealth to our king, should we destroy the kingdom to purchase that? Our rash and abrupt proceedings shews our folly. Ver. 20. *He that walketh with wise men shall be wise: But a companion of fools shall be destroyed.* A man will be, must be assimilated to his company, and then partake of their judgment or blessings.

Chap. xiv. He that is accustomed to speak truth in private, will in his common speech be a faithful witness in public: but a man accustomed to lying, dissembling, swearing in private, will not stick to forswear himself, to make professions and vows contrary to his mind in public, ver. 5. (which is also chap. xii. 17. and vi. 19.) Such men seek wisdom and make a shew of religion, but find it not; whereas it is easy to godly men to find it, to find repentance and salvation, v. 6. Go away from foolish men and break off society with ungodly men; be not privy to their counsels; use them not as special friends, when thou perceives that all means are used in vain to reclaim them from their damnable way and principles, ver. 7. The knowledge a godly man hath, it serves to direct his way, and is given of God for it: But all the wit and skill of such wicked men is deceit; they themselves are beguiled by it in opinion and practice, and hope. And they also beguile others, ver. 8. Sin makes fools agree: But among the righteous, that which is good makes agreement (in the old translation) ver. 9. It is only evil will unite all the wicked in the land as one man: for 'tis a sport to them to do mischief, chap. x. 23. Albeit our way seem right in our eyes, yet because it is a backsliding way, and departing from unquestionably right rules, *the end will be death*, and we will be filled with our own devices. O it shall be bitter in the belly of

of all godly men when they have eaten it, *ver. 12, 14. and chap. i. 31.* *The simple believeth every word;* giveth credit to every vain word that is spoken: But a prudent man looketh well to mens goings; ponders and examines whether their professions and practices agree; what weight is in their words, by the inspection of their deeds, and of their ordinary speaking; and does not account a coined word before a judicatory sufficient to testify repentance: and as he gives not present credit to their professions, who have so often proven treacherous; so he himself scars at every appearance of evil, and keeps himself from it; whereas foolish souls rage and are confident; think any thing lawful if they can have any pretence for it, or use of it, *ver. 15, 16.* Then, what a great difference is between wicked and godly men, both in their lot, when God is correcting both? And in their disposition, wisdom that rests in the one's heart, is manifested; wickedness in the other's heart appears also. In the midst of such men there is no other thing, *ver. 32, 33.*

Chap. xv. 8. *The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord; but the prayer of the upright is his delight,* expresses how provoking a thing the outward professions and sacrifices of wicked men, continuing in their wickedness, what an abomination that commonly called public repentance, or ecclesiastical holiness is, when men are visibly unholy and ungodly in their conversation: And therefore he pleaded always with that people, that his soul abhorred their external ceremonies, *because of the uncleanness of their hands.* He pleaded that he never commanded them, though indeed he did command them; yet those were aberrations and departings from the express rule and command, to accept or be pleased with these sacrifices and ceremonies, when there was no evidence of real repentance. To this purpose are chap. xxi. 4, 27. Isa. i. 11. and lxvi. 3. Jer. vi. 20. and vii. 22. Amos v. 22. All which shew that it is but a mocking of the Lord, and perverting of his law, and profaning of his ordinances, to accept the profession of repentance in those who walk contrary thereto; and to count them ecclesiastically holy enough, who say, they repent; though a thousand actions witness the contrary. Of such the Lord says, *What hast thou to do to take my covenant in thy mouth, seeing thou hates to be reformed?* Psal. l. 16, 17. They have no right to it, they should not be admitted to it; for it is a taking the Lord's name in vain. The 16 verse tells us; that it had been better to possess our own land in quietness,

ness, than to venture what we have for the uncertain conquest of England; and restitution of the king, parallel with Eccl. iv. 8.

Chap. xvi. 7. *When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.* Can our states way then please the Lord, seeing they cannot find the way of peace? They will not walk in it; and seeing they make the godly in the land to fall out with them, and none to be at peace but the wicked, who may thereby get opportunity to crush the godly. Ver. 17. *The highway of the upright is to depart from evil.* This is the highway only to depart from evil, not carnal policies, nor advantages. He thinks the stepping aside to any of these is not the highway. Can then men change their way, and go cross to it, and keep the right way in both? No, the godly have this way and keep it.

Chap. xvii. 11. *An evil man seeketh only rebellion; therefore a cruel messenger shall be sent against him.* Evil men seek only rebellion, and delights in no other thing: But the King of kings shall send a cruel messenger; he arms men with wrath and power against them. Ver. 13. speaketh sadly to the English and to our state, that rewarded the west country evil for good. Ver. 14, 19. tells us how we should advise before we begin a war, and leave no mean of composing difference and strife unessayed. We did more in it than the English, but not all we might have done. Ver. 15. with chap. xviii. 5. is a dreadful sentence against the public judicatories, that all their resolutions, papers, and practices, justify the wicked and ungodly as honest faithful men, and condemn all approved faithful men, that cannot go along in such courses, or were earnest to have them repent, as both malignants and sectaries. Do they not pronounce all malignants friends, and absolve them from the sentences and classes they stand under? And do they not put the godly in their place? They relax the punishment of the one, and imputes transgression to the other; and so brings them under a law. See Exod. xxiii 7. Prov. xxiv. 24. Isa v. 23. and the 26 verse of this chapter. It is not good to punish godly men, who have given constant proof of their integrity, for abstaining from such a course, at least having so much appearance of evil, that many distinctions will never make the multitude to believe that we are walking according to former principles, because their sense observes the quite contrary practices, &c.

Chap. xviii. 2. *A fool hath no delight in understanding, but that*

that his heart may discover itself. Shews, that if the present cause and course were of God, and tended so much to his glory, fools or wicked men would have no such delight in it: for they delight in nothing but what is agreeable to their humour, to discover themselves, &c. Ver. 3. gives the true reason, why our public judicatories and armies are so base and contemptible; why contempt and shame is poured on them; because, *when the wicked comes, the also comes contempt, and with the vile man, reproach.* ver. 13. *He that answereth a cause before he hear it, it is folly and shame unto him.* Many pass peremptory sentence upon the honest party in the west, before they hear all parties, and be thoroughly informed, and this is a folly and shame to them. They hear the state and church and what they can say for their way; and indeed they seem just, because they are first in with their cause, and they will not hear another; but he that comes after will make inquiry, and discover those fallacies. Ver. 24. *There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.* A godly neighbour, not so near in natural bonds to us, that is a surer friend than many brethren in the flesh. These bonds of country and kindred, should all cede to God's interest. See chap. xvii. 17.

Chap. xix. 22. *A man's desire is his kindness: and a poor man is better than a liar.* The godly, that cannot concur in the public cause being disabled through an invincible impediment of sin lying in the way and means made use of, are better friends, and have more real good will to the establishment and peace of the land, than any ungodly man, let him be never so forward in the present course. Ver. 10. *Pleasure and its attendants are not comely for a wicked man, i. e. foolish man; much less for a servant, i. e. men enthralled in their lusts, to rule over princes, i. e. godly men, highly privileged by God.* All things that are good do ill become them; but worst of all, to have power and superiority over good men, ver. 25. joined with chap. xxi. 11. Ring-leaders of wickedness, refractory and incorrigible persons should have been made examples to others, and this would have prevented much mischief. The scripture gives ground for putting difference between the scorner and simple, seducers and seduced.

Chap. xx. 6. xxi. 2. and xvi. 2. *Most men will proclaim every one his own goodness: but a faithful man who can find?* It is no great wonder that malignants say they repent; and the

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the state and church say they keep the same principles: for who will say any evil of himself? Ver. 8. Magistrates should scatter away evil men with their countenance, denying it to them, and looking down on them: How then do our rulers gather them? Ver. 3. shews that war and strife should not be kept up but in extreme necessity: *fools will be meddling.* Ver. 11. shews that the best way of judging of men is by their doings and fruits, not strained words and confessions. But these who, upon a bare profession, pronounce a notour malignant a friend, having no proof of their integrity, and will not have any judged such, but such as judicially are debarred; yet they, contrary to all the testimony of works and fruits, judge and condemn honest men as traitors, though not judicially convicted. Certainly *divers measures are an abomination to the Lord*, as in ver. 10. Then ver. 25. sacrilege is described, and covered perjury, which is a snare to the soul that commits it; *to devour that which is holy*, i. e. Employeth to common use these things God hath set apart, and commanded to be kept holy, as our profaning of repentance and absolution by casting such pearls to swine, and for our own advantage making a cloke of them to bring in wicked men, contrary to the very nature and institution of the ordinance. Also our prostituting of our covenant and cause, most holy things, to maintain unholy or common interests. Our committing his holy things to them that will devour them: *And after vows to make inquiry*, to dispute now, that we did not bind ourselves in the case of necessity, not to employ wicked men; when as the ground is perpetual and holds in all cases. It shews either temerity in swearing, or impiety in enquiring afterward and changing. See Deut. xxiii. 21. Then ver. 26. *A wise king scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them.* O that our magistrates were so wise! Is the act of levy a scattering of the wicked? Is the act of indemnity a bringing the wheel over them? Psal. ci. 8. *I will early destroy, &c.*

In chap. xxi. 10. *The soul of the wicked desireth evil, his neighbour findeth no favour in his eyes.* The wicked's principles carry no where but to evil, and to do evil to good men, ver. 8. His way and life is full of horrible and tragical chances: But a good man's work is easy and pleasant; directed to a good and peaceable end, Isa. xxvi. 7. In ver. 12. A righteous man should have his wit about him, to consider ungodly houses and families, and persons that God hath visible controversies with, that he may not communicate with them

in their judgments, ver. 16. It is a sad wandering out of the way, when a man leaves the congregation of the living to abide among the dead. Dead in sins and appointed to death. It is a great judgment as well as sin. Ver. 27, with the 4. and places before cited, shew how abominable the external professions and pretences of wicked men are, when contradicted by their practice; especially if they do it but out of a wicked mind, when they intend to effect some mischief, under the colour of repentance and being reconciled to the church. As Absalom's vow at Hebron; as Balaam and Balak, and the Pharisees, who under pretence of long prayers devoured widows houses; as Jezebel's fast; and as the people, Isa. lviii. 4. who fasted for strife and debate, and to strike with the fist of wickedness. All men know that the church is the ladder to step up upon to go to preferment, and repentance the door to enter to places of trust.

Chap. xxii. 3. *A prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself, but the simple pass on and are punished.* He is a wise man that knows the judgment of the Lord, as the stork and swallow the time of their coming, that in the consideration of sins and threatenings, and comparing things spiritual with spiritual, apprehendeth judgment coming on such a course and such a party, and hides himself, goes aside, retires to a covert, by avoiding these evils, and the least fellowship with them that bring it on, and eschewing such a society as hath the cloud hanging directly above their head: but simple idiots and blind worldlings go on head-long, and dread nothing, and are punished, ver. 5. Most grievous plagues and punishments, and all manner of unhappiness encumbereth their wicked life: Therefore he that would keep himself pure and clean, 1 John v. 18. and save his own soul, shall be far from them; shall keep himself far from such people. He prays with Job, *Let their counsel be far from me.* Job xxi. 16, 17. *Because their good is not in their hand, their candle is oft put out, &c.* And resolves with Jacob, *My soul shall not enter into their secret,* to have such intimacy with them, as join counsels with them, Gen. xlix. 6. And ver. 10, 11. *Cast out of thy company, family, jurisdiction, the scorner that contemns the godly men, and mocks instruction: for such men are infectious, and able to corrupt all they converse with. But cast him out, and contention shall go out with him. It is such only that mars the union of the godly, that stirs up strife, and foment divisions. Thou shalt have more peace* and

and be more free from sin and shame. But, sound-hearted upright men, who deal faithfully, not to please but to profit, you should choose these to entrust and rely upon; these should be the friends of kings. Ver. 14. As a harlot's allurements are like pits to catch men, so the allurements of wicked ungodly men, their power, policy, &c. and their fair speeches and flatteries, are a deep ditch to catch men into this spiritual whoredom and fornication spoken of Ezek. xxiii. And he whom God is provoked with, by former wickedness, falls into it, Eccl. vii. 26. Ver. 24, 25. *Make not friendship with an angry man: and with a furious man thou shalt not go, &c.* And is not association in arms with such, as friends against an enemy, a making friendship with them we are sworn to hold as enemies? If we may not converse with a furious passionate man, how then with men of blood, enraged, whose inveterate malice hath now occasion to vent against all the godly? For thou wilt learn his ways, as we have always seen it by experience, and thou wilt get a snare to thy soul: If thou go not in his ways you cannot agree, you will fall out and quarrel, and that is a snare to thee. Ver. 28. *Remove not the ancient land-mark which thy fathers have set.* If it be so dreadful and accursed to remove our neighbour's marks and bounds, O how much more to change and alter God's land-mark; his privileges, oaths and covenants, &c. and chap. xxiii. 10, 11. Deut. xix. 14. and xxvii. 17.

Chap. xxiii. 1, 7. *When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what is before thee. For as he thinketh in his heart so is he, &c.* Consider diligently what men are, not what they pretend and seem to be: for as they think so are they, not as they pretend with their tongue and countenance, but as they think in their heart, which is better evidenced by their common and habitual speaking and walking, than any deliberate and resolved profession contrived of purpose. But if thou consider not this, the morsel thou hast eaten thou shalt vomit up; thou shalt dearly pay for thy credulity, and lose all thy sweet words. Ver. 23. *Buy the truth and sell it not, &c.* Do not we sell the truth and cause and all into the hands of the enemies of all? Whereas we ought to ransom the kingdom's liberty and religious interest, with the loss of all extrinsic interest that does but concern the accession of one's honour; yet we sell, endanger, and venture all for that.

Chap. xxiv. 1. *Be not thou envious against evil men, neither desire thou to be with them.* Godly mens hearts are often

tickled to be acquainted with, in league and friendship with wicked men, when they have power, that they may not be hurt by them; but seeing there is no society between light and darkness, let not the godly desire to be with them, as in chap. xxiii. 17. But rather to be in God's fear always, that is good company. The reason is ver. 2. Their heart studies the destruction of the godly, why then should thou walk with thine enemy? And you shall hear nothing but mischief in their lips. ver. 12. It is not according to mens words but works they should be judged, and why do not we follow that rule in judging? Do we mock God as one mocks another? Job xxxiv. 11. Psal. lxii. 12. Jer. xxxii. 19. Rom. ii. 6. Ver. 21, &c. Men given to change, false deceitful men, meddle not with such if thou either fear God or respect man; for such will be sure to no interest but their own. Their calamity shall come suddenly; therefore have nothing to do with them: for who knows the ruin of them, both of them and all other wicked men, or of both them and the king, if wicked? Also to the wise and godly this belongs. It is not good to have respect of persons in judgment, whether he be king or nobleman. A righteous state *respects not the person of the prince and mighty*, saith Job. But he that says to the righteous, You are wicked sectaries, and also malignants, because ye will not approve all their resolutions; and to the wicked, You are righteous; to the malignants, You are the honest men; the blessed of the Lord, who did ever to this day fall under Meroz curse: Should the people approve him? No, certainly; him shall they curse, and the nations abhor him, or them: But a blessing on them that would reprove our sins and search them out. ver. 29. The malignant party are even speaking so: as the classifiers and purgers did to us, even so will we do to them. But God will render them according to their work.

Chap. xxv. 2. *It is the honour of kings to search out a matter.* It is a king and judge's glory to search out a matter, to try dissemblers before they trust them; God's glory is to pardon, man's glory is to administer justice impartially. Ver. 4, 5. shews what need there is of purging places of trust, especially about the king. Dross cannot be melted, take what pains you will, it will not convert into a vessel and become useful. This mixed in, obstructs all equity, justice and piety where it is. The ruler should be the refiner to purge away this dross, and the army, or judicatory, or kingdom, is a vessel.

vessel. You shall never get a fined vessel for use and service, till you purge away the dross, Psal. ci. 4. Then, ver. 8. we should follow peace with all men as much as is possible, never to begin strife or draw the sluice of contention: But if we be wronged, we should not for all that go out hastily to strife, till, 1. The justice and equity of the cause appear. 2. That the matter whereabout we contend be of great moment, a ground to found a war upon. 3. That we first use all means of peace and agreement possible. 4. That we overmatch not ourselves with these who are too strong for us. See chap. xvii. 14. Lest thou be brought to that extremity that thou know not what to do. Thus Christ adviseth, Luke xiv. 31. I am persuaded this would plead much in reason to yield security to England, so be our wrong were repaired and no more done. Ver. 19. shews what the employment of unfaithful men, who mean nothing less than they pretend, is, they fail when most is expected, and hurts beside, as Job's friends, chap. vi. 15. And ver. 26. A righteous and upright man, consenting with a wicked man in sin; or, through fear of him, not daring to do his duty, turning to him and his way, or dallying and flattering him in his iniquity, *is like a troubled fountain*, is not good and profitable for edification nor correction, having troubled the purity of his soul through the mud of carnal respects and interests: Corruption within is the mire, the wicked's seducements are like the beast's trampling it with his foot; and he is like a corrupt, infected and poisoned fountain, more ready to infect and draw others by his example. Ver. 27. A man should not seek honour and preferment that is base and shameful. None of the trees longed for sovereignty but the bramble.

Chap. xxvi. 1. *As snow in summer and as rain in harvest; so honour is not seemly for a fool.* It is as unseemly, prodigious and destructive a thing, to give honours, promotions and trust to wicked men, as snow and much rain in harvest; a reproach and punishment more becomes him, than honour the reward of goodness, (as ver. 3) a whip, rod and bridle for him, to restrain him from wrong and provoke him to goodness. ver. 6. He that commits an errand or business and entrusts a wicked man with it, is as unwise in so doing as if he did cut off the messenger's feet he sent; he deprives himself of the means to compass it; he sends a lame man to run an errand; he is punished by himself as if he had cut off his own feet, and procureth sorrow and discontent to himself, as if he

he were compelled to drink nothing but what is contrary to his stomach. ver. 7. All good speeches halt and limp in evil mens mouths; for there is no constancy in their mouths: Within they are very rottenness. *Out of the same mouth comes cursing and blessing*, James iii. 10. Their very words agree not; the public and extraordinary crosses, the private and ordinary, and their actions have less harmony with their words. *Professing they know God, in works they deny him*, &c. ver. 8. To give a madman a weapon, what else is it but to murder? To bring shot to an ordinance which may do much mischief to himself and others, is to be accessary to that mischief; so to give honour to a fool, he hath given power to them, and put them in a capacity to do evil, and set them on work again to perfect their designs against good men. ver. 9. As a drunken man, put a thorn in his hand, he can make no use of it, but to hurt himself and others; so wicked mens good speeches and fair professions, commonly tend to some mischief, these but cover their evil designs: and yet the covering is shorter than that it can hide them. ver. 10. Wicked rulers [look the margin] grieve and molest the subjects; and the means to effect this is, to employ the fool and transgressor, to give offices and countenance to evil men, which may be instruments of their lust; so Abimelech, Judges ix. 4. so Jezebel, 1 Kings xxi. 10. so in Neh. viii. 15. Ver. 11. The dog feeling his stomach furcharged, goes to the grass, as our malignants to profess repentance, and casts up that which troubles him by a feigned confession: But because there is no change in his nature; he is inwardly stirred by his old principles to lick up that vomit, to commit and practise what he professed repentance for; yea, and to profess the same he pretended sorrow for: When power is confirmed in their hand they will return to their folly. Ver. 17. What else is our interposing ourselves in the king's quarrel concerning England, though we have interest in it to endeavour it in a peaceable way, if he were fit for it; yet in comparison of our kingdom and religion's safety, which may be ruined by war, it is no such matter as belongeth to us: And so it falls out, we are like a man taking a dog by the ears to hold him: we have raised up many enemies; and provoked them to bite us: We cannot hold them long from destroying him; and we provoke them more by holding them, in espousing his quarrel, as Jehoshaphat joining with Ahab. We had done well to interpose ourselves between the king and them to make peace,

peace, but to side to one party was not well done. Ver. 18.
 19. Furious and bloody men take all opportunities to hurt others, especially good men; and so deceiveth these employed: But they do it under a pretence, as a scorner reproacheth under a pretence of sport; so they, under other pretences, of wrongs done, of the country's defence, &c. Ver. 20, 24. shews the way to prevent trouble and keep peace. As a contentious turbulent person would enflame a whole country and put them by the ears; so a person, though not contentious in his own nature, yet having many contentious interests following him, which he will not quit or commit to God's providence, as our king was. O it is the destruction of a nation to have such a person among them: He hath broken the peace of two kingdoms. Ver. 23, 24, 25, 26. Burning lips, hot and great words of love and friendship, and a wicked heart, revenging its enmity, and minding nothing less than what is spoken, is like a potsherd, a drossy piece covered over with the fairing of hypocrisy; or like a sepulchre garnished and painted, he dissembles and speaks vanity, and flatters, Psal. xii. 3. But he lays up his wicked purposes close within him till a time of venting them: Therefore when he speaks so fair and courteously, be not confident of him, trust him not too far till thou hast proof of his reality. Put not thyself and thy dearest interests into his mercy. This is wisdom and not want of charity, Jer. xii. 6. Micah vii. 5. Cain, Joab, and Judas are proofs of this. It may be covered a time, but not long. *Naturam expellat furca licet usque recurrat.* All the world shall be witness of it, Psal. cxxv. So then, ver. 21. the calumniator and false accuser, who openly professes his hatred and malice, and the flatterer that seems to be moved with love, both of them produce one effect, viz. Ruin and calamity.

Chap. xxvii. 3, 4. *A stone is heavy and the sand weighty: but a fool's wrath is heavier than them both, &c.* We see what we may expect of the enraged, exasperated malignant party, their wrath against all the godly, for their faithful secluding and purging them out of places of trust, is weighty and insupportable like the sand of the sea; it will crush them under it if God support not. It is like a swelling river or a high spring-tide, it goes over all banks, since the state and church have drawn the sluice and let it out. But when it is joined with envy and malice, against godliness and piety itself, who can stand before, that? No means can quench that heat.

beat. Ver. 6. Faithful mens reproofs, remonstrances and warnings, applied in love and compassion, are better than an enemy's kisses and flatteries, than his oils and ointments are: Therefore we would pray against the one, and for the other; that God would smite us with the mouth of the righteous, but keep us from the dainties of the wicked Joabs, Judases, and Achitophels. Ver. 8. speaks sadly against ministers that withdraw from their charges so unnecessarily, as a bird that wandereth too long from her nest, the young starve for cold or famine, or are made a prey; so these, who having no necessary call to be elsewhere, especially not being members of the commission, yet stay not with their flocks, are guilty of their souls ruin. Ver. 10. O how doth this speak against the present course of judicatories, they have forsaken their old faithful friends, when they proved ever constant, and have gone in to their wicked countrymens house in the day of their calamity. But a neighbour in affection and piety, is nearer than a brother in flesh and near in habitation.

Chap. xxviii. 1. *The wicked flee when no man pursueth: but the righteous is bold as a lion.* Wicked men are now chosen for stoutness and courage, but they have no sure foundation for it. 'Tis but like the rage and temerity of a madman or drunkard: But godly men, once satisfied in grounds of conscience about their duty, would have been bold as lions. A good conscience would have made them bold, Psal. cxii. 7, 8. Lev. xxvi. 36. Now, ver. 2. behold the punishment of our sins, our governors are changed; there is almost a total alteration, and we are faces about, which cannot but bring ruin to the land, especially when men of understanding and piety are shut out. Ver. 4. with chap. xxix. 27. It is a great point and argument of declining and forsaking the law of God, when men praise the wicked, change their names though they themselves be not changed, and leave off contending with or declaring against them, and do rather plead for them. But godly men, that keep the law, contend with, discountenance and oppose them; as David, I hate them that hate thee, and earnestly contend with them: Thus they are kept from partaking with other mens sins. Ver. 5. It is not very likely, that all the ungodly should now understand the duty of the times and discern the right way, and that so many that fear God understand it not, seeing the Lord's secret is revealed to them, Psal. xxv. 14. Ver. 6, 7. A poor man, and weak means, if they be of upright men, are better and stronger than

than many rich and strong perverters. A companion of evil men and a keeper of the law agree not in one person; the one is an honour; the other a shame to all that have interest in them. Ver. 9. Their prayers and professions are abomination; no acceptance of those who turn away their ears from obedience to the law; who walk contrary to it. Ver. 10. These cunning and crafty men that have enticed some godly men, and led them on in the present course, shall themselves smart for it, when the godly seduced shall see good things after all this. Ver. 12. When wicked men have power and trust, good men hide and retire themselves from such a congregation or assembly of the wicked. See chap. x. 10, 11. Should we thus choose our own plague, tyranny, oppression, calamity, and misery, and cast away our own glory? Then, ver. 13. repentance requires true and ingenuous confession, and real forsaking; if both these join not, it is but a covering and hiding of sin. If a man confess, and yet walk and continue in them, he is but using his confession as a covering to retain his sins; and such shall not find mercy of God, or prosper before men. Ver. 14. It is not so despicable a thing to fear alway, and to be very jealous of sin as it is now made. It is counted a reproach to have any scruples at the present course: But happy is he that abstaineth from all appearance of evil; but he that emboldeneth himself, and will not question any thing that makes for advantage, falls into mischief. Ver. 15, 17. shews the lamentable condition of a people under wicked rulers, they are beasts and not men towards the people, especially towards the best, Dan. vii. 4, 5. Zeph. iii. 3. Ver. 17. How doth that agree with our sparing of bloody men, of our soliciting for their impunity, of our pardoning them? Are they not, by the appointment of God's law, ordained for destruction, and haste to it? Should any then stay them? should they not then far less employ them? And, ver. 24. if it be so hainous to take our father's goods upon this pretence, because they are our own, how much more sacrilege is it to rob God of his interests, and give over his money to bankrupts, and say it is no transgression to rob the land of its defence, and make them naked, as Ahaz his confederacy did? Certainly it is murder. Ver. 28. and chap. xxix. 2. and xi. 12. and xxviii. 28. are to one purpose: We have forsaken our own mercy and wronged our own souls; and destroyed ourselves in choosing our own judgment, and making our own rod to beat us withal. Chap. xxix. 1. We being

so often reprov'd by his word and providence for the sin of association with the wicked, and being so lately punished for it; and having so lately reprov'd ourselves for it in our declarations and fasts, yet to harden our necks, what can we expect but utter destruction, and that without remedy, as we sentenced ourselves? Ezra ix. 13. and xiv. 13. Isa. xxx. 13, 14. Shall not this iniquity be to us a breach ready to fall, even this iniquity of going down to Egypt for help, &c. Then, ver. 6. there is a snare to entrap thy feet in the sins of the wicked; if thou be joined with them thou cannot well escape. ver. 8. Wicked profane contemners of God and his people bring ruin on a city or commonalty, they set it on fire and blow it up: But godly men pacify wrath, turn away judgments, and purge all from provocations, which is the only means to turn it away. Ver. 16. shews, when wicked men gather together, and grow in state and power, they grow worse, and sin with greater boldness, and transgression then overflows the land *tanquam ruptis repagulis*. There is no obstacle. See Psal. xii. And ver. 24. shews, he that is partner and fellow-receiver with a thief, or conceals such offenders, endangers his own destruction: and he that stays with and associates with wicked men, must hear cursing and cannot bewray it; he will see many abominations, that though he would he cannot remedy. Ver. 25. Fear of man and of the land's danger, hath brought many into a snare, to run from the Lord to an arm of flesh: but he that trusts in the Lord shall be safe. Ver. 27. Here is the deadly enmity between the two seeds, they cannot reconcile well. See ver. 10. and chap. xxi. 3. It is no wonder the godly abominate such men who are God's enemies and the land's plague.

Chap. xxx. 11, 14. describes the malignant party, who make nothing of the godly magistrates or their mother church and land, but curse, malign, oppose as much as they could, and are oppressors, monstrous tyrants, mankind beasts, or beastly men; the subject of their cruelty is the godly afflicted man; they eat up all and will not leave the bones. As the prophet complains, I lie among men whose teeth are as spears and arrows, and their tongue as a sharp sword. And then, ver. 12, 13, 20. describes our enemies, the invaders. They think themselves godly and righteous, yet are not purged from their filthiness. They are given up to strong delusions to believe lies; and there is no lie greater than this, that they are a godly party in a godly cause and way. They
wipe

wipe their mouth after all their bloodshed, and say, *I have done no evil*: They wash their hands, as Pilate, as if they were free of the blood of these just men, whose souls cry under the altar. Ver. 21, 22, 23. It is a burden to the world and a plague to mankind, when servants, unworthy men, and persons unfit for high places are set in authority, and when wicked men have their desire of plenty and honour, (chap. xix 10.) and when an odious woman, or men of hateful vicious dispositions come to preferment and are espoused by a state. Nought they were while alone, but worse now when they have crept into the bed and bosom of the state. Her roots are nought before; but now she is planted in rank mould, and will shoot forth her unfavoury branches and blossoms. And when handmaids, kept in a servile estate because of their disposition and quality, get their masters ushered out, and they become heirs, at least possessors of the inheritance or trust. Ver. 33. shews how necessarily war and contention follow upon unnecessary provocations by word or deed, such as we have given many to England, though indeed they have given more. And lastly, chap. xxxi. 20, 26, 31. shews how word and work should go together, and men should be esteemed and praised according to their works and fruit of their hands.

F I N I S.



A

SOLEMN TESTIMONY

Against TOLERATION, and the present proceedings of Sectaries and their Abettors, in ENGLAND, in reference to RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.

By the COMMISSIONERS of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY
of the Kirk of SCOTLAND.

With the Answer, of Parliament, to the said TESTIMONY.

ALSO A

TESTIMONY

TO THE

TRUTH OF JESUS CHRIST;

OR,

To the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of
the Kirk of SCOTLAND; and to the National Covenants,

Against the prevailing Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, &c. &c.

By the MINISTERS of PERTH and FIFE.

KILMARNOCK:

PRINTED BY J. WILSON, BOOKSELLER.

M.DCC.LXXXIII.

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EDINBURGH 16. Jan. 1649. *Postmeridie.*

A necessary and seasonable Testimony against Toleration, and the present proceedings of Sectaries and their abettors in England, in reference to religion and government; with an admonition and exhortation unto their breihren there, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the kirk of Scotland.

ALBEIT the work of reformation in these kingdoms hath ingraven upon it so many, and so lively characters of the truth, and power, and wisdom of Jesus Christ, as gives unto us sufficient grounds of hope that he will bring forth the head-stone of his house with shoutings, unto the shame of his adversaries and refreshing of his people; yet the sense which we have of our duty, in regard of our station and trust, the danger that threatens religion and government, together with the desire which we have to restore those that are fallen, to strengthen the weak, and to comfort the afflicted in England, calls upon us to give public testimony against the present proceedings of sectaries and their abettors in that land, and to speak a word of admonition and exhortation to our brethren there.

It hath been unto us, and we make no doubt unto the protestant churches abroad, matter of much sorrow and grief of heart, that after so many sufferings from, and wrestling with the popish, prelatical and malignant party; and after that they are brought down by the mighty hand, and stretched-out arm of the Lord, there should arise in their stead another to oppose his work in these kingdoms: And it adds unto our affliction that they be such as profess for Jesus Christ, and pretend unto holiness, and seemed once to build with ourselves, whilst now their way is become grievous, and goes down unto the gates of death, as tending to overturn religion, destroy the league and covenant, and to raze the foundations of government.

It shall not now be needful to fall upon an enumeration of all these errors which have sprung up in England of late: A few years past have brought forth more and more dangerous opinions in that one kingdom, than many preceding generations in all the churches of Christ, so evil and bitter a thing it is to leave every man to his own fancy, and the vineyard
of

of the Lord without a hedge. The late general assemblies of the kirk of Scotland and their commissioners, have borne testimony against independency, crastianism, anabaptism, antinomianism, arminianism, socinianism, familism, scepticism, &c. And the ministers of the province of London, and many others have more particularly reckoned and condemned the errors which men of corrupt minds there have run into. We bless the Lord for every faithful witness and desire to put to our seal that his testimony is true; but of all things it most afflicts our spirits, and we cannot but look upon it with horror and amazement, that in a land covenanted with God, after Satan hath been so cunning as to sow the seed of so many heresies and errors, he should now prevail so far upon the spirits of men, as to make them instrumental to plead for a toleration unto all errors, and to endeavour that this monstrous iniquity may be established by a law, and that of so large extent, as carries no exception; but expresses popery and compulsion. The first whereof leaves latitude enough to take in any papists whatsoever, if he can but a little dissemble the grossness of his way, and the latter doth not obscurely point at those, who plead for the government of Jesus Christ by presbyteries, and hold that all men are to walk according to the rule of the word of God: Is this all the favour and approbation, that such may expect to be ranked amongst the worst of papists? There are many devices in the heart of man; but the counsel of the Lord shall stand; and he will give unto his people a nail in his holy place.

We have searched after the mind of Christ, and have traced the footsteps of the prophets and apostles, in the Old and New Testament: and no where can we find in the scriptures of truth, either precept or precedent allowed of God for toleration of any error, much less did it ever come into his mind, or did he speak to any of his servants concerning a toleration of all error. As that infinitely glorious divine Essence is one in himself most holy, most righteous, most true, so hath he given unto the children of men, one eternal, unchangeable law, according to the rule whereof they are to square their profession, and order their conversation: Therefore as his justice requires in the covenant of works that we should walk according thereto without declining to the right hand or the left, so he in his mercy promises in the covenant of grace to give unto his people one heart and one way to fear him for ever: And in both covenants they are obliged to

to walk after the rule of this law. It is acknowledged by many of those with whom we have now to do, that no liberty is to be allowed unto men in the breaches of the duties of the second table, which we owe unto our neighbours, but that if a man sin against his neighbour, and disturb the peace of the common-wealth, he is to be restrained and punished: Can there any solid reason be given why it should not also be thus in regard of the duties of the first table which we owe unto God? Is not one Lord author of both? hath not conscience influence upon both? Is not the Lord's glory interested in the one as well as in the other? Doth not his image shine as brightly, and may it not be as much defaced in the one as in the other? Are the things of God less precious than the things of men, and that which concerns the soul less to be cared for than that which concerns the body? or are we more to value our own damage than the Lord's dishonour? We know that no man hath dominion over the conscience: But the Lord who made it, exercises his sovereignty therein; and he hath set a law unto the spirits of men, after the rule whereof they are to order both their judgments and affections; and hath given power to those whom he clothes with authority, which they are to exercise in these things so far as they are manifested in expressions and actions unto the dishonour of his name, and hurt and prejudice of others: All those who have their senses in any measure exercised in the word of God will acknowledge that it is repugnant thereto, that any who are clothed with power œconomic, ecclesiastic or politic, should connive at any error in any of these that are subject to their jurisdiction, or allow it liberty by a law. Abraham did command his children and his household to keep the way of the Lord, and to do justice and judgment, Gen. xviii. 19. Jacob took order for purging of his household and all that were with him, from all the idols and strange gods that were amongst them, Gen. xxxv. 2. David will have none of those who tell lies, but such as walk in a perfect way, to be in his house, Psal. ci. And the apostle Paul will have all pastors and deacons to rule their houses well, and to keep them in subjection, 1 Tim. iii. Neither is there less required of those who bear charge in the house of God. It was a special part of the office of Aaron and his sons to separate betwixt the precious and the vile: Jehoiada set porters at the gates of the house of the Lord, that none which was unclean in any thing should enter therein, 2 Chron. xxiii. 19.

The apostle Paul would not give place unto those by subjection who came in privily to spy out the kirk's liberty for the space of an hour, Gal. ii. 5. and he will have an heretic after the first and second admonition to be rejected, Tit. iii. 10. And are not some of the churches of Asia commended for their diligence, and others of them reprov'd for their negligence herein, Rev. ii. 2, 6, 14, 15, 20. And though the power of the magistrate be herein most questioned by the patrons of toleration, yet is the scripture very clear and plentiful both in precepts and precedents, in promises, rewards, in threatenings and judgments, in encouragements and reproofs, that it is the office and duty of the magistrate not only to suppress and punish iniquity and unrighteousness, but also ungodliness and error, and that he beareth his sword in relation to both. As the Lord by his servant Moses, in the xviith of Deuteronomy, requires of him that shall reign over his people, that he have a copy of the law of the Lord by him, and that he read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of that law; so in the xiiiith of that book he gives a command to put to death the false prophet, and the brother that speaks to his people to turn them away from the Lord their God; and the reasons taken from the nature of the duty, whereby he persuades unto the obedience thereof, are perpetual and no less binding unto us now, than to them of old. How strongly doth the Lord plead, in the xxiid of Deuteronomy, against toleration and false worship, and all the occasions thereof, and provocations and incitements thereto? and how severe is he about the removing and destroying all these, and in tying all his people to one way according to the rule of his word? and what peremptory commands are there given unto them concerning both? Was not the blasphemer stoned unto death, Lev. xxiv. 10. It was the great care and singular commendation of Joshua, Samuel, David, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, Ezra, Nehemiah, Zorobabel, and of such as judged or reigned well in Israel or Judah, that they preserved religion and reformation in integrity, restored it when it was fallen and corrupted, by destroying idolatry, and establishing the pure ordinances of God. Asa made a covenant, and commanded Judah to seek the Lord God of their fathers, 2 Chron. xiv. Jehoshaphat went out throughout the people, from Beersheba to mount Ephraim, and brought them back unto the Lord God of their fathers, 2

Chron. xix. Josiah made a covenant, and caused all the people to stand to it, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 32. And the children of Judah, after their return from Babylon, made a covenant, and entered into a curse, and into an oath to walk in God's law, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord their God, Neh. ix. 38. x. 29. It is left as a note of perpetual infamy upon Jeroboam, that he caused Israel to sin by erecting the calves at Dan and Bethel, and suffering the people to go a whoring after the same, and as it was the cause of the destruction of his house, so at last of the extermination of Israel; and it is several times observed by the Holy Ghost as a fault in several of the kings of Judah that the high places were not taken away, and Judah itself was also many times sore plagued of God, and at last carried into captivity because of their tolerating of error and idolatry; and who so well ponders the story of Josephus the Jewish writer, will find that both in divine and politic considerations, the toleration of divers sects amongst them was the main cause of their ruin.

Some say, that the coercive power of the magistrate had place in the Old Testament, because of an infallible judgment of direction that was always present with them, in the Urim and Thummim, for applying of the law to those who were guilty; but besides, that this overthroweth all ecclesiastic as well as civil censures under the New Testament, as supposing the necessity of an infallible direction to the right proceeding unto a sentence against a blasphemer or heretic, what needed then any judicial process or the testimony of witnesses against such? This argues that the procedure was to be in an ordinary way, according to a known standing law, as in cases of the second table: And it hath as little strength that the magistrate then did these things, not as a magistrate, but as a type of Jesus Christ, seeing the kings of the heathen, such as Artaxerxes, Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, made decrees hereabouts, whose practice is commended by the Spirit of God: And some, knowing no other shift, would have the Old Testament laid aside in all the question, and have proofs only from the New; but did not the prophets of old foretel that there should be such a thing under the New Testament? Zachariah, in his xiiith telleth, that in the day that the fountain shall be opened in the house of David for sin and for uncleanness, the prophet that speaks lies in the name of the Lord shall not live, but be thrust through; and as Jesus Christ commands us to beware of false prophets, Matth. vii, 15. and the

apostle Paul to mark them who cause divisions, Rom. xvi. 17. and wishes that those who trouble the churches of Galatia were cut off, Gal. v. 12. So the same apostle, Rom. xiii. tells us, that the magistrate is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath on those that do evil; neither is this wrath confined to the deeds of unrighteousness, and these things only that are prejudicial unto men, and troubles the peace of the common-wealth, but is also to be extended to these things that are dishonourable to God and the peace of the church; for it cannot be shown that any part of that power which magistrates had under the Old Testament is repealed under the new, neither can any convincing reason be brought, why it should be of narrower extent now nor then. Are not blasphemies, heresies and errors dishonourable to God, and destructive unto souls as well now as of old? and are not men as prone to run into these things? and have they not need of as many remedies and restraints now as of old? Nay, are not these evil works, as well as the works of injustice and unrighteousness? They are high transgressions against the first and great commandment of the law, and Moses, speaking of the punishing of them, calls them the evil which we are to put away from amongst us, Deut. xiii. 5. And the apostle Paul desires us to beware of men that are polluted therewith as evil workers, Phil. iii. 2. and the same apostle calls them evil men and seducers, 2 Tim. iii. 13. And the apostle John calls their works evil deeds, 2 John x. Therefore if liberty be granted in these, we know no cause why men that can in a handsome way pretend conscience for it, should be denied liberty to run into excess and riot, and to commit all sort of uncleanness and practise all wickedness with greediness? which makes us the less to wonder, that it is propounded that nothing may be punished with death but murder. Thus far do the principles of libertines lead them, that the most monstrous and unnatural abominations that can be are not to be punished with death: neither belike should murder be excepted, if the carnal desire of the preservation of natural life did not lead them to it. We know not with what words of wonder and astonishment to express ourselves upon these things. Pass over to the isles of Chittim, and see and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if such a thing hath been heard of of old, or of late amongst the most brutish and barbarous nations? Such a cursed toleration as this will not only make every thing in religion appear to be
uncertain,

uncertain, rend the churches and disturb the state, and trample all ordinances, order and government under foot, and bring forth many blasphemies and abominations, but is like to banish religion and righteousness quite out of the land, and at last make a hell upon earth.

And the thing in itself is not more strange unto us, than that these who have lifted up their hands unto heaven, and sworn before God, angels and men to extirpate popery, heresy, error, schism, superstition, idolatry and profaneness, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, and who do so much pretend unto holiness, and have been made partakers of so many mercies and deliverances, should have so far forgotten the oath and covenant of God, as to plead for, and proclaim a liberty unto all these things. The solemn league and covenant was in the beginning, amongst all the means that could be thought of, looked upon and entertained as the strongest bulwark of religion, and surest foundation of a lasting union and peace betwixt the kingdoms, and the best way for bringing down the enemies of both, and being confirmed by the oath of God, cannot be repealed nor altered by any power or authority on earth, but obliges both kingdoms unto all the duties contained therein, which makes us to wonder that men should be so unhappily bold as to sport with the oath of God, and mock the Almighty, who is a severe avenger of all such things. And albeit we have no cause to repent of covenanting with England, as having done a necessary duty, and laid the foundation of a glorious work, which we trust shall be perfected maugre all the opposition of men, and that we resolve to adhere to that solemn league and covenant as long as we live; yet have we reason to complain of the exceeding great levity and inconstancy of some of those with whom we had to do, because of the sad reproach that is thereby brought upon the cause of God, and the great prejudice that doth thereby redound to the kingdom of his son Jesus Christ.

Neither is it the least part of our grief, that as a throne is set up for Satan, and the house of God laid waste, so the civil government is exceedingly shaken, if not quite subverted and overthrown. We plead not for tyranny, or arbitrary power either in kings or parliaments, neither are we to own or justify any man in his sin; but we may remember what adversaries have many times cast upon both kingdoms, and what both have oftener than once printed and published to
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the world for their vindication in this; and if after so many public professions and solemn attestations to the contrary, the foundations shall be razed, monarchy be destroyed, and parliaments subverted by an imaginary and pretended agreement of the people, as it would destroy the league and covenant, and cause the adversary to blaspheme and insult, so it cannot but be the cause of many miseries and calamities unto these kingdoms. If power be originally in the people, and all of them do equally share in the privilege of liberty and freedom, how comes it to pass that a few take upon them to impose this agreement upon others, and that it is desired that the opposers may be punished with death? Let it be yielded that some at first may condescend upon the model without the knowledge of the whole body, yet when it is offered unto them, what if the one half, or the greater part, shall refuse to consent or submit thereto, shall they be compelled by others to do it, and destroyed if they will not obey? Is not this to take power over these that have equal power with themselves, and to encroach upon the freedom of these who are as free as themselves? If it be said, that they do but impose in things necessary, that concern common equity and freedom, we demand who are judges of these things? Have not these who refuse as much power and freedom to judge, as those who would impose it upon them? and if they judge it to be contrary to their freedom, who can controul them herein, without encroaching thereupon, and offering violence to their consciences who may conceive such a way neither to suit with religion nor righteousness? And to speak nothing of the troubles that are like to arise otherwise, may not this open again the issues of blood, and embroil the land in a new war betwixt these who shall refuse, and these who shall impose such a model, wherein men may unhappily lose both themselves and their liberty, whilst they seek to be too much free? Were it not better to preserve monarchy and the privileges of parliament, walking in the middle betwixt tyranny and anarchy, betwixt arbitrary government and confusion.

We know that such a way is looked upon by some as the best foundation of safety, but we know nothing more like to bring ruin and destruction: And therefore pitying these who are gone out of the way, we do, from the compassion which we have to their souls, earnestly, and in the name of the Lord, beseech all these in England who plead for toleration, the laying aside of the covenant and change of the civil government,

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vernment, to consider these things impartially. 1. What fair professions and promises were made unto this kingdom, to persuade them to join in covenant with England, and how often before and since that time these things have been renewed by letters, declarations and remonstrances unto these in this land, petitions to the king, ordinances of the houses, and letters to the kirks abroad; all this is still upon record, and will bear witness before the Lord, and unto the following generations, against the levity, perverseness and perjury of those who have sworn the league and covenant, and gaded so much about to change their way. 2. That the league and covenant was the first foundation of their victories and success, and of the ruin of the malignant party in England. We need not put them in mind at what low ebb the parliament's forces were at the contriving thereof, and how soon the Lord gave testimony from heaven, by victory over the enemy, of his approbation of the same, and how from that day forward they prospered, and the enemy fell before them still. 3. That the Lord hath always been a severe avenger of the breaches of oaths and covenants personal, and which concerns the things of men, much more national, and which concerns the things of God. 4. That never any perverted the truth, and corrupted the worship of God and prospered. 5. What shall be the advantage, nay how great shall be the loss of all the expence of blood and of pains that these kingdoms have been at, if for all this, we shall reap nothing but toleration and confusion? have we laboured in the fire to remove one corrupt religion, and to bring in many in its stead; to put down tyranny and set up anarchy? 6. Whether this be such a testimony of gratitude, as the Lord calls for at their hands in lieu of all his mercies, and giving unto them victory over all their enemies. 7. Whether such things beseems those who would be called saints, and pretend to be for the Lord, and use his name in all their professions and undertakings? 8. Whether such proceedings do not bring a sad reproach and heavy imputation upon the work of God in these kingdoms? In nothing do the popish, prelatical and malignant party more insult; and is it a light matter to cause the enemy to blaspheme? 9. How sore the weak are stumbled, and the hearts of the godly throughout all the protestant churches wounded. We have suffered many things, but nothing so heavy to our spirits as this. 10. If such a way be not contrary to the whole strain of God's word, and to the practice

practice of all the saints since the beginning of the world unto this day? **W.** What shall be the end of these things, and the many sad and doleful consequents that shall follow thereupon? If from these and the like considerations any be moved to take warning to desist from the evil of their way, we shall therein rejoice and glorify God in their behalf: But if they shall refuse to hearken, we have discharged our consciences; and, in the name of the kirk of Scotland, whose servants we are, we do dissent from, and protest against such proceedings, as destructive to religion, the solemn league and covenant, the work of uniformity, and the civil government; and shall wait for the salvation of the Lord.

In the next place, albeit we do not desire to add sorrow unto any man's affliction, but rather, if any suffer for righteousness sake, to comfort him; yet we were not faithful if we did not put our brethren in England in mind of their slothfulness and negligence in the Lord's work, that in this day of their trouble they may be humbled because of their want of zeal for God and his cause. The Lord put into the hands of the parliament of England many precious opportunities and fair occasions to have extirpated popery, error, heresy, schism and profaneness, and to have established reformation, and the government of the house of God; many petitions and supplications from many in England, and declarations and remonstrances and letters from the parliament and general assembly and their commissioners in this land, were tendered unto them concerning this thing; yet notwithstanding of all these, did they still suffer the house of God to lie waste, and the evil to grow which had been easily resisted in the beginning, but now is gone over the face of the land like a flood, and hath troden under foot their own power and authority. It hath been the Lord's way in carrying on of his work, to stain the pride of all glory, and to break and put down all those powers that have not exalted him and promoted the kingdom of his Son. And though we do not justify these insolent attempts upon the houses, yet we cannot but desire the members to behold the hand of the Most High, and to read their sin engraven in their judgment. It is a righteous thing with the Lord to abase all those that will not honour him. The Lord certainly hath a great controversy against them for encroaching upon the royal sceptre of Jesus Christ, and denying unto him any external government over his house, but such as is dependent upon them, by assuming

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suming unto themselves the ultimate decision of all ecclesiastic causes and kirk censures: And doubtless the Lord is also highly displeased with their proceedings in the treaty at Newport in reference to religion and covenant, concerning which, they accepted of such concessions from his majesty as were dangerous and destructive unto both. We wish that they may now at last see their negligence and presumption in these things, and be men of wisdom to hear the voice of the rod, and who hath appointed it, if their soul be humbled for their sin, and if they shall take upon them the vows of God for giving unto Jesus Christ his due, and doing whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven for the house of the God of heaven, who knows but the Lord may take away their reproach, and restore them to their dignity and power.

And though we doubt not but many in England have these years past mourned for the desolations of the house of God, and for the rise and growth of so many errors in that land, and have poured forth their supplications before the Lord for a remedy of these things; and that we are not ignorant what a considerable number of ministers have done in their sermons, and printed books, and testimonies, yet we shall desire all that love truth and holiness in that land, to consider whether they have so timeously, and with that courage and zeal that was convenient appeared for the Lord, and acquit themselves in their duty in reference to religion and the solemn league and covenant, and if any find themselves faulty, to mourn for it, and to pray for mercy, and more of the Spirit of Christ, that they may hereafter be more faithful, and do their duty boldly and without fear? As many in England mourned with us in the day of our distress before the Lord in our behalf, so we and all the godly in this land, pour forth our supplications to God in private and in public for them: And albeit we will not take upon us to prescribe, yet as the servants of the living God, who have obtained mercy in some measure to be faithful, and have found such a way to be profitable amongst ourselves, we exhort all our brethren in England to acknowledge their iniquities before the Lord, especially the breaches of that solemn league and covenant which was so publicly sworn, before God, angels and men, and to renew their oath and vows in his sight, which we doubt not, if gone about in sincerity, shall be attended with a blessing and success from heaven. It hath been the Lord's dispensation in these kingdoms, for the most part, to leave a branch of hope

in the one kingdom, when the other was like to perish, and to suffer enemies to grow to a great height of insolence and power, and then to bring them down : And therefore albeit the floods lift their voice and make a noise, yet we know no cause why the Lord's people should wax faint or cast away their confidence, the Lord on high is more mighty than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea ; his word is established in heaven, and his testimonies are very sure : And beside the many great and precious promises which he hath given unto us, and his goodness to his saints of old, he hath furnished his people in these lands with so many experiences of his mighty hand and stretched-out arm, working salvation and delivery for them, that it were a shame for any amongst them to wax faint, and not to believe. For yet a little while, he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith ; but if any man draw back, his soul shall have no pleasure in him.

A. K E R.

EDINBURGH, 18. Jan. 1649.

The Return of the Estates of Parliament upon the TESTIMONY, communicated unto them by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, and their concurrence with the same.

THE Estates of Parliament presently convened, taking to their most serious consideration the seasonable testimony against toleration, and the present proceeding of sectaries and their abettors in England, in reference to religion and government, with an admonition and exhortation to their brethren there, from the Commissioners of the Genenal Assembly of the church of Scotland communicated unto them by you ; and pondering the present sad and strange condition of affairs in their neighbour kingdom of England represented therein, and in several other papers come to their knowledge ; they do return unto you their hearty thanks both for your good correspondence (which the parliament will with all chearfulness entertain) and for your great care and faithfulness in giving such necessary and seasonable warnings and testimonies against

gainst the dangers of the times on all hands, at all occasions: And do heartily concur in the grounds thereof against toleration and the present proceedings of sectaries in England, in reference to religion and government, and in the admonitions and encouragements so fully exprest in the said paper: And do most willingly add this our testimony thereunto, that our brethren of England may be the more moved by the mouth of two witnesses, and especially such as together with them stand and fall, and are covenanted with them for mutual good, to lay those things to heart, and to abstain from all such sinful and dangerous courses; and the faithful not to faint under these afflictions, or to omit any necessary testimonies or duty against the corruption of the time: And because there have been several aspersions published in printed pamphlets, for the strengthening of the hands of those who go on in these sinful ways, and for discouraging the hearts of these who are suffering under them; therefore the Estates of Parliament, after diligent enquiry at all the members of this court, upon their public and solemn oath, both concerning themselves and others, Do declare, and can assure their brethren of England, that they cannot find that either this kingdom or any person thereof, had any knowledge of, or accession unto the late proceedings of the English army in relation to the king's person, or the houses and restrained members thereof, but are very confident there is no ground for such aspersions. On the other hand, so soon as this parliament was convened and constituted, and heard of the present posture of affairs, they being no ways satisfied with their proceedings, and the reasons thereof, published to the world; and being convinced of the dangerous consequences thereof, and calamities likely to follow thereupon, they did give present instructions to their commissioners, upon many reasons founded on the obligations and declarations made between, and by both kingdoms (of which the matter of fact is fully expressed by the Paper given in by our commissioners on the 5th of January instant, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in our name, and according to our mind, herewith communicated to you) to press a delay of all procedures against the king's person, the prince his right of succession, or the fundamental government of the kingdom, until this kingdom were heard to represent their interest and desires; and, in case of their refusal, that they should enter, in the name of this kingdom, their dissent and protest, that as this nation

is free from all knowledge of, and accession to these designs and practices, so they may be free of all the calamities, miseries and confusions which may follow thereupon to these distracted kingdoms. And as our constant resolution and earnest desire to preserve inviolably the peace and union between the kingdoms, will evidently appear to any who will read (beside all our former actions and sufferings for it) our Act of Indiction of this present parliament, and our act repealing all past in the last parliament or committee of estates for the late unlawful engagement against England. And as ye are witnesses of our keeping a solemn day of humiliation, not only for our own sins and miseries, but also for the sins and distresses lying on our dear brethren, and for seeking the Lord's direction to us, that we may know and perform all the duties which the Lord requires of us at such a time, after such judgments and deliverances on his part, such an acknowledgement and renewed covenant on our part, not only in relation to our own affairs at home, but also to what may concern religion, king and kingdoms, according to the Solemn League and Covenant in these united nations; so we declare that it is our constant resolution, with God's assistance, to give all seasonable testimonies, and do all necessary duties within our power and calling, for the preservation of the begun reformation against toleration of all religion, and of the fundamental government against anarchy and confusion; and for continuing and preserving the peace and union between these kingdoms, and all the bands thereof, so often acknowledged and expressed in their treaties, especially *one king, one covenant, one religion*; and for the observance of the manifold declarations emitted between and by both kingdoms to the world, in the positive and necessary duties for pursuance of all the ends of the Solemn League and Covenant. And to this effect we are and shall be most ready to deal and interpose in all earnestness and sincerity of heart, and by all lawful and necessary means with all whom it may concern, for settling peace and truth in these kingdoms, upon the grounds and propositions so often agreed unto, and so long insisted upon by these two nations, and upon what further shall be found safe and necessary for the removing of these distempers, and preventing new issues of blood, calamities and confusions in these kingdoms, which the Searcher of hearts knoweth to be the earnest desire, and firm resolution of this court and kingdom.

L O W D O N, *Cancell.*

I. P. D. P.

The PAPER of the 5th of July, given in by the Commissioners for the kingdom of Scotland, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, mentioned in the aforesaid Return.

S I R,

THE Committee of Estates of the kingdom of Scotland, understanding that the honourable Houses of Parliament were proceeding in a treaty for peace with his majesty, did, about the beginning of the last month, authorize us to present propositions to his majesty; and particularly, to deal with him and the honourable Houses, for establishing the covenant and presbyterial government, the Confession of Faith, Directory for Worship, and Catechism; for preventing the toleration of idolatry, popery, prelacy, superstition, blasphemy, heresy and schism, and for perfecting the great work of reformation and uniformity according to the Covenant; the substance whereof hath been formerly communicated, in a letter from the committee of estates to both houses, and by one of our number, upon his reception at the committee of Derby-house, by order from the houses of parliament. But to our great grief, we do perceive, that the distractions of this kingdom are, beyond our expectation, grown exceeding high; that a force hath been placed on the passages to the houses, which, during transactions of highest concernment, hath imprisoned and secluded a great number of members of parliament, and given occasion to many others to withdraw, because they find they cannot act as in a free parliament; that applications are made to you, for proceeding against the king, to take away his life, and for changing the government of this kingdom; and strong endeavours are used to overturn the whole work of reformation, to cast off the ministry, and introduce a toleration of all religions and forms of worship, and so, in effect, to destroy the cause wherein both nations have been engaged, and frustrate all the ends of the solemn league and covenant, which both kingdoms have sworn, with uplifted hands to Almighty God, sincerely, really, and constantly to perform. The consideration of these things doth exceedingly trouble us, and fill our hearts with fears, that, as they are for the present, matter of great provocation of the wrath of God against us, dishonourable to his name, and a reproach to religion; so, if persisted in, that they shall greatly

ly weaken and divide us amongst ourselves, unite foreign enemies against us, advance the popish interest, lose Ireland, and in end, prove destructive to the reformed religion, and to the peace and happiness of these kingdoms.

In the year 1640, when these kingdoms were oppressed under the yoke and tyranny of the prelates, who then were far advanced in the design, to introduce popery, the kingdom of Scotland did join their endeavours with this kingdom, to procure a free parliament here, looking upon it, as a chief mean, by the blessing of God, to give a check to the designs of the prelates, who were studying the change of religion, and to the enterprizes of evil counsellors about the king, who were endeavouring to establish an arbitrary and tyrannical government; and afterward, when through power and prevalency of papists, prelates, and malignants, this kingdom was distressed, the kingdom of Scotland did enter into a solemn league and covenant with this nation, for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms; and particularly, for bringing the churches of God therein, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-government, Directory for Worship, and Catechising; for extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine; for mutual preservation of the rights and privileges of parliaments, and liberties of the kingdoms; for discovering of incendiaries, malignants and evil instruments, that hinder reformation of religion, divide the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or make any faction or party among the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they might be brought to public trial and punishment; for preserving peace and union betwixt the kingdoms, and defending one another in this cause; for continuing therein all the days of our lives zealously and constantly, against all opposition; and for promoting the same, according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever.

In pursuance of the solemn league and covenant, both houses of parliament have often declared, that they will establish the reformation of religion, extirpate popery and prelacy, and suppress heresy and schism; and that they will maintain the fundamental government of this kingdom by king, lords, and commons. And when the common enemy
being

being subdued, the Scottish army was to go out of this kingdom, in the beginning of the year 1647, and his majesty, by consent of both kingdoms, was to come to Holdenby; the houses of parliament did declare, both to the king, and to the kingdom of Scotland, that respect should be had to the safety and preservation of his majesty's person, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms, according to the Covenant; and when the king should be at Holdenby, and the Scottish forces gone out of this kingdom, that they would join with the kingdom of Scotland, in employing their best endeavours, to procure his majesty's assent to the propositions agreed on by both kingdoms; and in case the king should not give his assent thereto, that the houses were resolved still to maintain the happy union already settled between the two kingdoms, according to covenant and treaties. The parliament of Scotland did at the same time also publish a declaration of their intentions (whereof one copy was delivered to his majesty, and another to the houses of parliament) that in the interim (until his majesty should give satisfaction to both kingdoms in the propositions of peace) there should be no harm, prejudice, injury or violence done to his royal person; that there should be no change of government, other than had been for the three years preceding; and that his posterity should be no ways prejudiced in their lawful succession to the crown and government of these kingdoms.

These being the engagements of both kingdoms jointly together, and severally one to another, for the ends aforesaid; we hold it our duty to endeavour, that reformation of religion be settled and established as is before expressed; and especially, that the toleration of idolatry, popery, blasphemy, heresy and schism be prevented, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: That the rights and privileges of parliament may be preserved; that there may be no change of the fundamental government; and, that there may be no harm, injury, or violence offered to his majesty's person, the very thought whereof, the kingdom of Scotland hath always abhorred, as may appear by all their proceedings and declarations: And the houses of parliament, have often upon several occasions, expressed a detestation thereof, in their declarations. Wherefore, we do expect, that there shall be no proceeding against his person, which cannot but continue and encrease the great distractions of these

these kingdoms, and involve us in many difficulties, miseries, and confusions: But that by the free councils of both houses of the parliament of England, and with the advice and consent of the parliament of Scotland (which is now sitting) such course may be taken, in relation to him, as may be for the good and happiness of these kingdoms, both having an unquestionable interest therein. We are

Your affectionate friends and servants,

Jan. 6th 1649.

subscribitur,

For the honourable William
Lenthall, esq; speaker of
the house of commons.

LOTHIAN,
JO. CHEISLY,
WILLIAM GLENDONING.

P R E F A C E
 OF THE
 T E S T I M O N Y
 OF THE
 MINISTERS OF PERTH AND FIFE.

THIS Testimony was intended long ago by the ministers of the gospel who are for the protestation in the synod of Perth, and being brought to some perfection about fifteen or sixteen months since by some of these brethren, and some other reverend and godly ministers in the synod of Fife: a copy thereof subscribed by their hands, was a little thereafter offered unto the late Lord Protector his council in Scotland, that being read by them, it might also have been transmitted to him and his council at London: The printing of it, though intended immediately thereafter, hath hitherto been retarded by several emergencies of providence. It is now put to the press, because, besides that written copies are oftentimes uncorrect, and by rescribing, come to be vitiated; and that so many as would either satisfy the true intent of the thing, or the minds of these who are desirous to peruse it, could not conveniently be gotten, the continuance and increase of many of the errors and evils that are witnessed against therein, with the desire of the reverend and worthy brethren, whose letter is hereunto subjoined, do plead for it: How it came at first not to be subscribed by these brethren, they themselves do, we trust, give a satisfying account thereof in their own letter, wherein they do also give their reason for joining in, and publishing of the same at this time. If there be some things in it that do not so quadrat with the present state of the time, by reason of the late changes, that is not material as to the true intent of the Testimony, which when it was first given, did witness against the evils therein mentioned, in the shape wherein it then found them, and it may well be admitted a witness against, as they now are, there being little or no material change appearing to the better. The Lord give a blessing to what is witnessed in simplicity of heart, and with a warrant from the word of truth.

Nov. 29th, 1659.

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The TESTIMONY of the Ministers of the gospel undersubscribing, unto the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the kirk of Scotland, and to the National Covenant of Scotland, and to the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three nations, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to the work of uniformity in religion, in one Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory of Worship, and Catechising; and against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies now on foot in these nations, that are contrary and destructive thereunto; especially against that vast toleration in things religious, lately framed into a law, and proclaimed throughout this nation.

Amos iii. 13, 14. Hear ye, and testify in the house of Jacob, saith the Lord God, the God of hosts, That in the day that I shall visit the transgressions of Israel upon him, I will also visit the altars of Bethel, and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the ground.

Rev. xii. 11. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony.

PURE religion, which is revealed by the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, and is contained in the scriptures of truth, being the way whereby the sons of men are taught to glorify the Lord their Maker, and to attain happiness and salvation unto themselves, is, of all enjoyments, the most excellent and necessary, the glory and crown, whether of nations, or of families, or of particular persons, and that which every one in his station is most bound to pursue and preserve, and plead for: Therefore have all these who have inclined their ear to wisdom, and applied their hearts unto understanding, sought it as silver, and searched for it as hid treasures, and have judged the merchandize thereof better than the merchandize of silver, and the gain thereof better than fine gold; and the Lord's worthies and witnesses have in every generation, according to their measure, appeared and put forth themselves in excellent wrestlings, by fervent supplications unto God, and serious endeavours with men, and faithful testimonies proclaimed upon the high places; and, when need was, confirmed with their blood for the attainment

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ment and preservation, and vindication of the precious truths and ordinances of God. And seeing we are not only Christians by profession, born in a visible church, and in our baptism solemnly devoted and engaged unto the Lord, to be his, and to be for him and his interests upon the earth; and therefore by virtue of our general calling as Christians, bound by the holy commandment of the great and eternal God, in our stations, earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, Jude 3. and to testify against the things that are destructive thereunto, Jer. x. 11. Amos iii. 13, 14. but also by our particular calling, ministers and watchmen in the house of God: And therefore upon that account, in a special way set for the defence of the gospel, Phil. 17. and bound to maintain and vindicate the glory of the Lord of hosts, 1 Kings xix. 14. and to confess Jesus Christ before men, Matth. x. 32. and to cry aloud and spare not, and to lift up our voices like a trumpet to shew his people their sins, and the house of Israel their transgressions, Isa. lviii. 1. and to speak unto them all that he commands us, as we would not be found rebellious unto God, and would not have him to consume us before men, Jer. i. 14. Ezek. ii. 8. And considering that we have been witnesses, not only to the many solemn public professions and engagements of others in the behalf of God, and of his truth, but that also we ourselves have once and again, (besides private and personal engagements) taken upon us that sacred and solemn tie of the public national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three nations; wherein, we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear, That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, in our several places and callings, endeavour the preservation of the reformed religion in the kirk of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. 2. That we shall in like manner,

without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and to the power of godliness, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms: And that in maintaining and pursuing this common cause of religion, we shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuation, or terror, to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, but shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able of ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed, all which we shall do as in the sight of God. Therefore having seriously weighed the state of religion in this church at this time, and the manifold injuries that have been, and are daily offered and done to the truth of God, and precious ordinances of Jesus Christ, and to the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant of the three nations, and to the liberties and privileges of the church and government, and officers of the house of God, by which God is highly dishonoured and provoked, and the Lord's sanctuary profaned, and the throne of his glory defaced, and the kingdom of his Son undermined, and many souls involved in dreadful guiltiness and destroying snares, day by day, and more exposed to the hazard of many and strong temptations. We do, for the delivering our own souls from the guilt of these things, and acquitting ourselves in the duty we owe unto God and his church, in the present and following generations, especially to these of our flocks, with the charge of whose souls we are in a more peculiar way intrusted, and that we may, if the Lord so will convince these who are guilty, and persuade them to repentance, at least, that we may bear witness for the truth against the evil of their way, hold ourselves bound to bear testimony, 1. Unto the way wherein we worship the God of our fathers, we mean, the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland, believing the same to be that which is written in the law and the prophets, and in the testament
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of Jesus Christ, and to the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and to the work of uniformity in religion. And next, against all the injuries done unto, and encroachments, violations, and breaches made upon these; especially against that vast toleration in things religious, a mischief lately framed into a law in these nations, whereby the tie and obligation of these covenants is wholly cast loose, and turned into oblivion, and countenance, and protection, and encouragement is allowed, not only to many errors about the superstructures of religion, but even anent these things that destroyeth the foundations, and to give warning to the Lord's people, especially to these whose souls we are called to watch for, of some necessary duties incumbent upon them in this hour of temptation.

In the first place, therefore, we do with thankful hearts acknowledge, and joyful lips bear record unto the wonderful power and goodness of God, which according to the prophecies and promises revealed of old, *That he would give the heathen for an inheritance, and the outmost parts of the earth for a possession unto his anointed One, and that the isles should wait for his law,* was graciously pleased many hundred years ago, and a little after the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, to give light unto the Gentiles, to pity our forefathers then mancipated unto the service of dumb idols, and worshippers of the host of heaven; yea, of devils and infernal spirits, and to visit them with the light of the glorious and blessed gospel, which having been first preached unto, and received by many private persons, was afterward, about the year 205, received by the king and many peers of the land; so that in a short time the whole nation became Christians, and was blessed and honoured of God for fundry generations, with many eminent professors and pastors, famous for learning and holiness, and piety, and for their pains and success in the work of the gospel, both at home and abroad, until at last, with the rest of most of the Christian churches in Europe, it was involved in the darkness of popish superstition and idolatry, to which it was in bondage for many years; yet so, that there was always a remnant through grace who did not receive the mark of the beast, but did overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and did not love their lives unto the death.

Next, we do with the same thankful mind acknowledge
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and proclaim that marvellous work of power and mercy, whereby the Lord with a high hand and a mighty and outstretched arm, a little after the discovery of the mystery of iniquity, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth, by the ministry of his servant Luther, and other worthy instruments whom he raised up for that effect, was graciously pleased, in the days of our fathers, to ransom this land from the bondage of popish tyranny and superstition, and again to bless it with the light and liberty of the gospel, which though it was opposed by the prince of this world, the spirit that wrought strongly in the children of disobedience, and did animate both the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the time, to resist and oppose by fire and sword; yet such was the zeal of the Lord of hosts in performing it, and so strong was his hand upon a few polished shafts, chosen and furnished by himself, that in a few years, not only was the reformed protestant religion established by authority, and popery banished the land, but most of congregations were planted with the ministry of the gospel, and did yield subjection unto the ordinances of Jesus Christ, and the discipline and government of the church were established, according to the pattern shewed in the mount, in their beauty and strength, in the due subordination of congregational elderships and presbyteries and synods, exercising their respective powers unto edification, for bearing down the throne of iniquity, and advancing of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, in knowledge, and holiness, and righteousness, unto the terror of the wicked and profane, and comfort and encouragement of the godly. In the thankful acknowledgement of which rare and singular mercies, and for strengthening themselves against adversaries, both of church and state, the national covenant being first subscribed by the king and his household, in the year 1580, was thereafter subscribed by persons of all ranks, in the year 1581, by ordinance of the Lords of secret Council, and acts of the General Assembly, and again by all sorts of persons, in the year 1590, by a new ordinance of council at the desire of the General Assembly. This covenant relating unto the reformed religion then professed in Scotland, and more particularly expressed in the large Confession of Faith, established and publicly confirmed by sundry acts of parliament; as it was then entered into with much cheerfulness and gladness of heart, the whole land rejoicing at the oath of God; so was it attended with many and choice blessings

sings from the Lord: Then was the church of Scotland for doctrine sound and lively; for worship, pure and spiritual; for discipline, powerful and impartial; and for government, and unity, and order, beautiful and comely, and well compact together, which as they were attended with rich breathings, and comfortable influences of the Lord's Spirit upon the souls of his people at home, so were they the matter of this church's commendation in the churches abroad, who because of these, gave her the testimony of one of the purest and brightest shining candlesticks amongst the churches of Christ: but it was not long ere this beauty was marred, and this glory eclipsed, whilst King James following too much the counsels of flesh and blood, and being upon the one hand wroth with the freedom and faithfulness of ministers, and upon the other hand, desirous to gratify the prelatical party in England, by reducing the kirk of Scotland, in its worship and government, unto a conformity with the church of England; did, with the unlucky help and mischievous industry of some ambitious and covetous men-pleasing church-men, in a few years, by politic devices, first overthrow the government of the church by presbyteries and synods, and obtrude instead thereof, a lordly government in the persons of thirteen prelates, and then corrupt the purity of worship, by thrusting upon the church the English popish ceremonies, and accordingly did his son and the prelates proceed to build, until at last the doctrine came to be mingled with Arminian and popish errors, and the worship to be turned over into the English service-book, and the discipline and government into a book of prelatical and popish canons; which course of defection having now continued and increased for the space of near forty years without interruption, and being backed with the authority both civil and ecclesiastical, had no doubt terminated and resolved in popery, if the Lord, when it was least expected by friends, and least feared by enemies, had not in a strange and wonderful way cut asunder the cords of these plowers, who plowed upon the back of his poor church, and revived his work and people.

And therefore we hold it our duty, in the third place, to make honourable mention of the work of the Lord which he hath done in our days, *to wit*, That in the year 1637, when the prelates were in the height of their power and pride, and had devised and procured that the service-book and the book of canons should be obtruded upon this church, and that there

was

was no probable means, and very few instruments by which these corruptions of the worship and government of the house of God should be resisted; the civil authority being strongly engaged for carrying on thereof, and the greatest part of the ministry being carried away with the course of conformity, and couching with Issachar under the burden. It pleased God, first, to stir up the spirits of a few of his servants and people to witness against these things, and so to encourage and countenance them in their proceedings, that in the month of February, in the year 1638, they did, notwithstanding all the threats and opposition of adversaries, which were many and strong, again to revive and renew the national covenant, which now had been forgotten and buried in oblivion for the space of almost forty years; and such the good hand of God upon his work and people, that within not many months thereafter, almost the whole land did subject themselves unto the oath of God; which was attended with more than ordinary manifestations of his presence, and influences of his Spirit in the assemblies of his people, and was in effect to this church, which had in a great measure, and for a long time forsaken her first love, and declined from her primitive purity and integrity, as life from the dead: Neither did the Lord cease to repair the ruin, and build up the breach that had been formerly made upon her, until he had restored her unto her liberty and beauty, in presbyteries and synods, and general assemblies, constituted of ministers and elders, according to the rule of Christ, and exercising their power unto edification. The first of these assemblies, which toward the end of the year 1638, convened at Glasgow, the very place where the top-stone was put upon prelacy, in the year 1610, did revive and approve the registers of the former free and lawful general assemblies, since reformation from popery, in the year 1560; did condemn and annul six pretended and corrupt assemblies that had changed the government, and corrupted the worship; did take away the unlawful oaths of intrants to the ministry, cast out the service-book, book of canons, book of ordination, and the high commission; did depose and excommunicate the prelates, did declare prelacy to have been abjured by the Confession of Faith 1580, and to be removed out of this kirk, and Five Articles of Perth to have been abjured and removed by the same Confession, and did restore kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial and national assemblies unto their full integrity in their members, privileges, liberties,

ties, powers, and jurisdictions, as they are constituted by the book of policy, registrated in the books of the assembly 1580, and ordained to be subscribed 1590, 1591, and make sundry other laudable acts and constitutions, tending to the purging of the church, and advancement and settlement of the work of reformation. And though this assembly, and the determinations thereof, were afterwards much opposed by the popish, prelatical, and malignant party; yet did the Lord so countenance his servants and people in this land, and his work in their hands, that the reformation was fully established, and at last ratified and confirmed both by king and parliament, in the year 1641. Then was there a sweet combination of truth and peace in the land, and the Lord did in a good measure pour his Spirit from on high, by which the wilderness was turned into fruitful fields, and the fruitful field into a forest; in contemplation of which wonderful mercies and blessings of God, that they might testify their thankfulness for the same, and secure them so far as did lie in them unto their posterity, and lend a helping hand unto their brethren in England, who then were wrestling in the fire against the unjust violence and cruelty of the popish, prelatical, and malignant party; who by their evil counsels, had stirred up the king, first to forsake, and afterwards to make war against the parliament then looking at reformation: This church and nation did, in the year 1643, upon the parliament of England's calling for their help against the common enemy, propound unto them, that there might be a solemn covenant entered into by all the three nations, of Scotland, England, and Ireland, which being agreed upon, was accordingly prosecuted and carried on in all the three nations.

Therefore, as we do from our souls bless the Lord, who did put such a thing into the hearts of his people, to engage themselves in a covenant to his holy and blessed Majesty, and one to another in subordination to him, in order to these things that concern truth, and holiness, and righteousness; so we do hold ourselves bound to testify our cordial approbation of, and real adherence unto that memorable and never to be forgotten solemn league and covenant of England, Scotland, and Ireland; being persuaded in our minds, and convinced in our consciences, that it is a duty for people and nations, who profess the name of the Lord, to enter in covenant with him; this being indeed the first and great commandment of the law, that we should have no other gods be-

fore him, and that we should avouch the Lord to be our God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken to his voice, Exod. xx. 2, 3. Deut. xxvi. 16, 17, 18, 19. and that whereof we have many memorable and praise-worthy precedents in the book of God, especially when a people were called to repent and turn unto God after public backsliding and defection, or were seeking a right way for establishing of themselves in the midst of snares, or of engaging of the Lord to help them in straits, and strengthen them unto great and eminent undertakings, or to express their thankfulness for great and wonderful mercies and deliverances, Deut. xxix. 1, 2. 2 Chron. xv. 12, 13, 14, 15. and xxix. 10. and xxxiv. 31, 32. Neh. ix. 39. and x. 29, &c. And being no less persuaded in our minds, and convinced in our consciences, that our solemn league and covenant, in the year 1643, is for the matter just and warrantable, for the ends necessary and commendable, for the time seasonable, and for the parties honourable; the matter and ends are all these precious things that are involved in pure religion, true liberty, and a well grounded uniformity in the former, and union and peace in the latter; or (to speak it in the words of a reverend divine) this oath is such, and in the matter and consequence of it of such concernment, as we can truly say, it is worthy of us; yea, of all these kingdoms, yea, of all the kingdoms of the world; for it is swearing fealty and allegiance unto Christ the King of kings, and a giving up of all these kingdoms, which are his inheritance, to be subdued more to his throne, and ruled more by his sceptre, upon whose shoulders the government is laid, and in the exercise of whose government and peace there shall be no end. The parties are the true God, the living God, the everlasting King, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, and doing wonders; and the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland; who though as all the nations, in comparison of him, are but as the drop of a bucket, and vanity, and less than vanity and nothing; yet such as through his grace were amongst the first fruits of the Gentiles, and are for the knowledge and acknowledgement of Jesus Christ, in name and fame, parallel unto if not beyond any kingdoms of the world. The season was the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland; the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England; and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, that we may truly say,

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(with the reverend divine already mentioned) such an oath, for matter, persons and other circumstances, the like hath not been in any age or oath we read of in sacred or human stories, yet sufficiently warranted in both. This solemn league and covenant, as it was actually sworn, and taken by the whole body of Scotland, from the highest to the lowest, so also by the honourable houses of the parliament of England, the assembly of divines, the renowned city of London, and multitudes, not only of the people, but of persons of eminent rank and quality throughout that nation, and the nation of Ireland, and all this by the authority and persuasion of the powers civil and ecclesiastic; who can have forgotten how deliberately it was resolved? how unanimously it was concluded? how joyfully it was received and entertained? The respective authorities of church and state in Scotland, did all with one voice approve and embrace the same, as the most powerful mean, by the blessing of God, for settling and preserving the true protestant religion with perfect peace in these nations, and propagating the same to other nations; and after taking of the same themselves, did ordain it also to be with public humiliation, and all religious solemnities, received, sworn and subscribed by all ministers and professors within this kirk, and subjects within this kingdom; which was accordingly done by the whole body of the land, and in many persons and congregations attended with the feelings of that joy, and comfortable influences of the Spirit of God in the enlargements and meltings of hearts, which they did find in so great measure upon the renovation of the national covenant, in the year 1638. And this solemn oath of God being already taken by the honourable houses of the parliament of England, by the renowned city of London, and by the reverend assembly of divines, the lords and commons in parliament, upon the account of its being thought a fit and excellent means to acquire the favour of Almighty God towards the three kingdoms, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and likewise to unite them, and by uniting, to strengthen and fortify them against the common enemy, and the true reformed religion, peace and prosperity of these kingdoms; did order and ordain, That the same covenant be solemnly taken throughout the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, and did condescend upon directions and instructions for the better and more orderly taking thereof by all the officers and soldiers, by the counties and committees, by the universities,

by the ministers and parishes then under the power of the parliament: And as by these instructions, the declaration of both kingdoms joined in the armies for the vindication and defence of their religion, liberties and laws, against the popish, prelatical and malignant party, (in which such as would not take the covenant, are declared to be public enemies to their religion and country, and that they are to be censured and punished as professed adversaries and malignants) was appointed to be publicly read: So for the better encouragement of all sorts of persons to take the covenant, it was in the same instructions recommended to the assembly of divines, to make a brief declaration by way of exhortation to all sorts of persons to take it, as that which they judged not only lawful, but (all things considered) exceeding expedient and necessary, and to be a singular pledge of God's gracious goodness to all the three kingdoms. In obedience to which, the assembly did frame an exhortation, wherein they do not only hold forth the lawfulness of the covenant, and take off such scruples and objections, as did then lie most in the way of the taking of it; but do also press it as the sovereign and only means to recover an embroiled and bleeding remnant. And upon these grounds, and according to these prescripts, was that solemn covenant taken by multitudes of persons of all sorts, many of which did rejoice at the oath of God, and did look upon it as a most promising branch of hope held forth by the Lord, for renewing and reviving the church of Christ in England, and Ireland, and preserving the church of Scotland, and begetting and bringing forth great and honourable things amongst the nations and churches abroad, for advancing the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and bearing down the kingdom of antichrist. Neither can it be forgotten, how by the same authority, it is appointed to be subscribed by persons of all ranks severally, writing their names or their marks, to which their names are to be added in a parchment roll or a book, whereunto the covenant is to be inserted, purposely to be provided for that end, and kept as a record in every parish; and how a little thereafter, it was afterwards ordered by the honourable house of commons, that the solemn league and covenant be on every day of fast and public humiliation, publicly read in every church and congregation within the kingdom, and that every congregation be enjoined to have one of the said covenants fairly printed in a fair letter, in a table fitted to hang up in some place of the church to be read; which things wanted not

not their due effect in many places: And why should we not also mention the mighty power and loving kindness of the Lord, testifying from heaven in his works of providence, his approbation of what was done by his people in these things according to his word, who knows not how from that day and upward, the Lord went forth with his people and their armies, and that the enemy was not able to stand before them, but did fall under them until they were foiled and wholly broken to pieces. These things we mention, to stir up and entertain in ourselves and others, the honourable and due estimation of that honourable and sacred bond of the covenant, thus well warranted by precepts and precedents from the word of the Lord, thus rationally and strongly urged by the authorities in both nations, thus solemnly sworn by so many thousands, thus sealed and attested in the consciences of so many gracious souls, by lively communion and fellowship with God, in bringing themselves under the bond thereof, and thus blessed and countenanced of God with such outward deliverances and successes; and to make it appear that it is not without cause that we judge the obligation thereof still to be in force, and that we do witness and profess our adherence thereunto. For our parts, though we do not judge all the matters contained therein to be of the same importance and weight, some of them being religious, others civil only, nor all the articles thereof to be of the same nature, some of them being absolute and binding absolutely, others being conditional and binding conditionally only: Yet we do judge ourselves, and the parties engaged therein, and who have taken it, to be still firmly bound to endeavour, according to our and their places, the performance of the several things therein contained and sworn, according to the common and plain sense of the words and nature of the obligation therein expressed, and that no person or power upon earth can dispense or absolve either themselves or others from the bond and tie of the sacred oath of the most high God.

In the first place, We do testify for, and bear record unto so much of the work of uniformity in religion, as was attained by the reverend assembly of divines at London, and the commissioners of the kirk of Scotland, in one confession of faith, form of church government, directory of worship, and catechising, and ratified and approved by the general assemblies of this church, and parliaments of this kingdom, in so far as did concern them, judging the same to be sound and agreeable

agreeable to the rule of the word of God, and to be in so far the result of one of these great duties whereunto we are obliged by covenant, *viz.* To endeavour to bring the churches of God in these three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us; and being followed and practised, to be such as would singularly contribute for the honour and glory of God, and the edifying of the churches of Christ in these nations, in the knowledge and belief of the truth, purity of worship, strength of discipline, unity of affection, and power of godliness, and to the taking away and suppressing all things that are contrary thereunto.

Having now borne testimony for, and professed our adherence unto the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the kirk of Scotland, and to so much of the work of uniformity as was attained with England, and to the national covenant of Scotland, and to the solemn league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, we hold it our duty, in the next place, upon the grounds, and for the ends already set down, as to profess our adherence to the testimonies formerly given by ourselves and others of the Lord's ministers and people, of the protesting judgment in this land, since the month of September, in the year 1651, concerning the actings of the present powers against this nation and church: so also at this time, to bear witness against the things now on foot in these nations, that are contrary and destructive unto the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, uniformity and covenants already mentioned. And therefore,

1. We do profess our abhorrence of the remnant and root of that popish, prelatical, and malignant spirit, which notwithstanding of the Lord's witnessing against it in a most eminent way, now for near twenty years in these nations, both by his word and works; yet doth not only lodge and lurk in thousands, but breaks forth in many, unto the opposing of godliness, and the work of reformation, and in taking hold of every shadow of opportunity that seemeth to contribute for reviving and promoting the old malignant interest and designs, against religion and liberty: And we cannot but be-moan that that spirit, in the actings thereof, as it standeth in opposition to godliness and the precious truths and ordinances

nances of Jesus Christ, is too much connived at, by which it cometh to pass that popery grows and spreads, and that malignant men cast off the yoke of discipline, and set up pastors according to their own heart, and bear down the godly, and the work of God in many places; yea, we cannot but bemoan that many such, through their feigned forwardness and counterfeited zeal to promote the interests of church and state, have screwed themselves into places of power and trust in both, and labour to infuse but too much of that spirit into the very vitals of government, designing, no doubt, to do by fraud what they have not been able to do by force, by making us do, as Amaziah king of Judah did, (who after he had overcome the Edomites, did bow down and worship their gods, 2 Chron. xxv. 14.) unto the involving of the land again in sinful compliances with the malignant party, contrary to the solemn public confession of sins and engagement unto duties, in the year 1648; to which solemn confession of sins and engagements unto duties, we do also judge ourselves bound to bear testimony, and to profess our adherence thereunto.

2. We do disclaim and testify against all that huge swarm of errors, and heresies, and blasphemies that have been broached, and have broken out in these nations in our days; whether such as deny and oppugn the divine authority of the holy scriptures, or the sacred Trinity of persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the blessed unity of essence and being, one infinite, eternal and almighty God; the Deity of the Son of God; the Deity of the Holy Ghost; God's holy and eternal decrees of election and reprobation; the creation of the world; the being of good and evil angels; original sin; the immortality of the soul; the resurrection of the body; the day of judgment; eternal life and death; the two natures of Jesus Christ, and the union thereof in one person; the real merit and satisfying virtue of his death and passion to take away sin and wrath, and redeeming of souls from the guilt and bondage thereof, and these only who are given to him of the Father, and not all and every individual man; or the impotency and deadness of man's will to all spiritual and supernatural good; or the true nature of faith; or justification by the free grace of God through the imputed righteousness of Christ taken hold of by faith; or the use of the moral law to believers; the inbeing of sin and of a body of death in believers; or their confessing and acknowledging of sin, and praying unto God for pardon thereof; or their being chastised

tised of God for their sins; or the ordinances of Christ as superfluous and not necessary to a saint; or the morality of the Lord's day; or the baptizing of infants born within the church; or the lawfulness of oaths; or degrees prohibited in marriage, Lev. xviii. the government of the house of God by presbyteries and synods; and whatsoever is contrary to the law and to the testimony, under whatsoever names or forms; whether Atheism, Antiscripturism, Arianism, Scepticism, Socinianism, Popery, Pelagianism, Familism, Arminianism, Antinomianism, Libertinism, Anabaptism, Erastianism, Prelacy, Separatism, Independency; and whatsoever else that is condemned by the word of God, that hath been published in these nations these years past, or is on foot therein at this day, the particulars whereof being so many and various, would be tedious and irksome to enumerate: Yea, as we do disclaim and testify against all of these, so we judge that many of these are for their grossness to be abhorred, and do wish that they could for ever be buried in immortal oblivion, never to be mentioned nor heard of any more in the churches of God; but when they are vented, and many of them countenanced and encouraged, unto the provoking of the God of truth in a high measure; to the affronting and treading under-foot his precious truth and ordinances; to the subverting and destroying of many souls; to the reproach of the churches of Christ at home, and scandalizing of these that are abroad; to the grief of the godly, and insulting and mocking of the profane; to the amazement of friends, and joy and rejoicing of adversaries, who can hold his peace? Nay, we are afraid that God will, in some eminent way, declare his wrath from heaven against these lands, because of that cursed monstrous brood of errors, heresies, and blasphemies that hath been hatched and bred up therein these years past, and alas, with too little contradiction; would to God not too much connivance and countenance from these who might have done much for crushing that cockatrice in the shell.

3. As we do profess our dissatisfaction that the civil powers should take upon them by themselves, ordinarily to prescribe public humiliation and thanksgiving, with the causes and diets thereof, to all the ministers and members of this church, as being contrary to the well warranted privileges and constant practice of the church itself, and in its own nature introductory to greater encroachments, and putting into the hands

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hands of the civil power, the modelling of the public worship of God, and things most properly ecclesiastic; so we desire with that sobriety that becomes Christians, and that faithfulness and zeal that becomes the ministers of the gospel, to bear witness against these injuries that are done to the true reformed protestant religion, professed in this church, and held forth in our Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and Directories for worship and government; by that late petition of advice offered by the late parliament at Westminster to his late Highness, and consented unto by him in the article concerning religion, and now homologated by the establishment made of that government in the person of his son according thereto. 1. Because that article, though it do provide that the true protestant religion, as it is contained in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament, be held forth and asserted for the public profession of these nations; yet by pre-
scinding from all our former Confessions of Faith, and attainments in the work of reformation, and by providing that a Confession of Faith yet to be agreed upon by his Highness and the parliament, according to the rule and warrant of the scriptures, be asserted, held forth and recommended to the people of these nations, it doth wave and cast loose all these former attainments and Confessions of Faith from being the *testera* of our public profession, and import a very great reflexion upon the religion which, since the reformation from popery, hath been professed amongst us, and giveth no small scandal to the churches of God at home and abroad, and no small advantage to papists and other adversaries, by ministering unto them but too just occasion to think and say, that after a hundred years professing of the protestant religion, we have it and the Confession of our Faith thereanent yet to seek, and to be determined upon; yea, it leaveth it doubtful, what is or may be understood by the protestant religion mentioned in the article; whether that called Calvinism, or Lutheranism, or Arminianism, or any other that layeth claim to the name of the protestant, or some complex of all or more of these, or the things wherein all of them do agree, laying aside the things wherein they differ. 2. Because the determinations concerning religion made in that article, though reaching to Scotland, no less than to England and Ireland, were enacted and established in a law, not only without the previous determination of a synod or assembly of this church, but also without so much as advice taken or consultation had with
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any of her synods and assemblies; yea, whilst some of her ministers were earnestly desiring and pressing the contrary, and that any civil power should at the first instant, especially in a church constituted, whose established doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, they are bound not only by the common tie of the magistrate's duty, but also by the particular oath of God, to preserve inviolable, take upon them of, and by themselves, to determine things of so intimate and important concernment to religion; yea, take upon them, to cast loose their former good and praise-worthy settlements, and to determine the public confession of that church and nation, (as is hinted in that petition of advice) we conceive to be contrary to the word of God, which hath put into the hands of the officers of his own house (and not into the hands of the powers of the world) the keys of his own house, whether the key of knowledge, or doctrine, that consists in expounding and preaching of the word, and determining controversies of faith, according to the rule of the scriptures, or the key of order and decency, by which circumstances of order and worship in the house of God are determined, according to the general rules of the word, concerning order and decency, or the key of discipline for exercising of church censures upon the scandalous and obstinate, or the key of ordaining and sending forth of church officers, for spiritual services and ministrations in the house of God, Matth. xvi. 19. John xx. 23. Mal. ii. 7. Deut. xviii. 9, 10, 11. Lev. x. 10. Ezek. xxii. 26. and xxxiii. 23, 24, Rev. ii. 2, 14, 15. Acts xv. 6, &c. and xvi. 4. John xviii. 36. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, &c. and to be contrary to the Confession of the Faith and constant tenor of the doctrine of this church, and former good and laudable laws of the land, as will appear from the large Confession of Faith in the head of councils, (to which also agreeth the confession of Faith, first agreed upon by the assembly of divines at Westminster, *anno* 1646, in the head of synods and councils, and in the head concerning the civil magistrate) and the remonstrances and declarations of the general assemblies of this church, particularly from the declaration of the general assembly, against the unlawful engagement in war against England, *anno* 1648, and from several acts of parliament, particularly from the first act of the twelfth parliament of King James, held at Edinburgh, June 5. 1592. yea, to be contrary to the Confessions of Faith and body of the doctrine of the protestant churches, which do generally

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generally and harmoniously teach an ecclesiastic power in the officers of the house of God, distinct from, and independent upon the civil powers, to which belongeth the exercise and use of the keys of the kingdom of Christ: and therefore for the civil power to assume it, is to transgress the bounds, and to remove the land-marks which are set by God, against which the faithful men of God, who lived in this church in the days of our fathers, did witness in the midst of difficulties and dangers. 3. We hold ourselves bound to witness against that article, because of the toleration of many errors and heresies, and things that are contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness that is therein framed and established in a law, *viz.* Of all these that are consistent with professing faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, God co-equal with the Father and the Son; one God blessed for ever, and with acknowledging the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed will and word of God, whilst the maintainers thereof abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the public peace; so that this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, or to the countenancing such who publish horrible blasphemies, or practise, or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness under the profession of Christ, and therefore not only unto Arminianism, Antinomianism, Anabaptism, Erastianism, Separatism, &c. but also to a great part of Familism, Socinianism, Quakerism, Pelagianism, and many errors that do not only deny and destroy many of the beautiful superstructures, but do also strike at many of the corner stones, and chief foundations of Christian religion; Such a toleration as this we conceive cannot be connived at, much less countenanced and allowed by masters of families in their households; by church officers in the churches of Christ; or by Christian magistrates in Christian states and commonwealths, without palpable crossing and contradicting the will of God revealed in the scriptures of truth, Gen. xviii. 19. and xxxv. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 Sam. iii. 11, 12, 13, 14. Psal. ci. 1. 1 Tim. ii. 3, 12. John x. 11. Tit. iii. 10, 11. Rev. ii. 6, 14, 15, 16, 20. Deut. xiii. 6, 11, &c. Josh. xxii. 11. 1 Kings xviii. 40. 2 Chron. xv. 16, 17. 1 Kings xii. 26. 2 Kings xvii. 18. Ezek. xxiii. 45, 49. Amos v. 13. Zech. xiii. 3. Therefore have the commissioners of the general assembly of this church witnessed plainly and fully against this toleration, whilst it was but yet in the bud, anno 1649.

And the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster, as they have in the Larger Catechism, in the exposition of the second commandment, reckoned the tolerating of false religions amongst the sins forbidden therein; so in the Confession of Faith, they do assert it to be the duty of the magistrate to take order that the truth of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed; and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered and observed: and it is a covering will be found not of the Lord's Spirit, to say, that these commandments and precedents, and threatenings from the word of God, do not concern the magistrate in the days of the gospel, not only because the ends and reasons thereof, *viz.* The glory of God, and the preservation of the image of God, which consists in holiness and righteousness amongst the children of men, are moral and perpetual; but also because as the Lord hath prophesied and promised of the Christian magistrate in the days of the gospel, that he shall not defile the place of the Lord's throne, and the place of the soles of his feet where he will dwell in the midst of his people, in their setting up of their thresholds by his thresholds, and their posts by his posts, Ezek. xliii. 7, 8. and that they shall thrust through the false prophets, Zech. xiii. 3. So hath the Lord Jesus Christ himself, who is the King of kings and Lord of lords, shown them an example, by making a scourge of cords, and driving buyers and sellers out of the temple, which was the only act of compulsive and external power that we read of him, to have exercised in all his life; that he might therein give an example of that zeal for the house of God, which ought to possess all these against the profaners of his temple, and polluters of his church, to whom God hath given a coactive power over the outward man: And the apostle Paul, Rom. xiii. in laying down the magistrate's duty, hath instructed us, that he beareth the sword to be a terror to evil works; we mean, such as appearing in the outward man, do mar the glory of God and the good of men, and are subject to cognizance and trial by men, of which sort are many errors, and heresies, and blasphemies, 2 Phil. 2. 2 John 10. 2 Tim. iii. 13. Tit. iii. 10. Rom. xvi. 17. And is it not prophesied in the book of the Revelation, *That the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and that the ten horns shall hate the whore, and make her desolate* and

and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire, Rev. xi. 15. and xvii. 16. Yea, is not the present powers, their taking upon them to restrain popery and prelacy, an undeniable acknowledgement that the civil magistrate hath power given of God so to do? and if in these things, why not in other things that are no less prejudicial to the glory of God, and spiritual good of men? 2. Because such a toleration is utterly repugnant unto, and inconsistent with the indispensable oath of God in the solemn league and covenant, professed to be made in the presence of Almighty God the searcher of all hearts, with a true intent to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. Is this toleration the performing of these vows of God upon us? Or is it not the way to cast loose the reformed religion in Scotland; to hinder reformation in England; to mar uniformity in one Confession of Faith, Directory of Worship, Catechism, and form of church government? And shall we hereby extirpate superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and to the power of godliness? Or is it not the way to nurse them upon our breasts, and dandle them upon our knees? Is this to free our souls from the guilt of other mens sins? Or is it not to suffer sin upon them, yea, to partake with them therein, and so partake of their plagues? Is this to make the Lord one and his name one in the three kingdoms? Or is it not rather to multiply our gods according to the number of our cities? 3. Because this toleration, by the countenance which it hath had in this nation these seven years past, hath already produced many sad and sinful effects, such as the growth and increase of popery; the spreading of Libertinism, Quakerism, Anabaptism, and the profaning of the Lord's day, and despising of the ordinances and public assemblies of the Lord's people; the contempt and casting loose of church discipline; the causeless and unjust revolt of men of a malignant spirit from their own lawful pastors and church officers, and sundry such like, that are destructive unto piety and godliness, and to unity and order. And if God shall not be graciously pleased, by a wonderful work of power and mercy to prevent it, what can be expected, when it is now framed into a law, and all laws to the contrary repealed and taken away, but that it should prove the inlet to all sort of error, and distraction and confusion? Who knows not how fertile the spirit of man is of vain imaginations, and how prone

prone to change the truth of God into a lie, that hardly can all these bounds that are set unto it, and these bands that are put upon it by the Lord, when improven by men to the utmost diligence and care kept from debording into error and looseness, shall it not then overflow all its banks when it may do it without contradiction; yea, in many things expect countenance and protection therein? Our hearts tremble to think how the glory of God shall be trodden under-foot; how the precious truths of the gospel shall be corrupted and perverted; how the ordinances of Christ shall be contemned and set at nought; how his government shall be overthrown; his officers had in contempt; his worship polluted; his day profaned; how peoples minds shall be troubled, and souls subverted; how the power of godliness shall be eaten up with vain janglings; how the whole work of reformation shall not only be retarded and obstructed, but in a great measure (if not utterly) rendered void; how, instead of reformation we shall have deformation; instead of the power of godliness, vain jangling; instead of love, bitter heart-burnings and jealousies; instead of union, schism and division; instead of peace, contention and strife; instead of order and government, anarchy and confusion; yea, what else can be the fruits that such an evil tree can bring forth, or the streams that can issue from so bitter and impure a fountain, but that at last our candlestick should be removed, and our sun set in a sad night of obscure darkness? It is above all contradiction, that as the see of Rome, these hundred years past, hath always had an eye upon Britain, for reducing the churches of Christ therein unto their former subjection unto the man of sin, so hath not her hopes been more heightened by any thing, than by this toleration; because thereby advantage is ministered for sending forth her emissaries, for crying down a ministry and ordinances, and perverting of the precious truths of God, and instilling into peoples minds the seeds of the popish doctrine, which maketh many wise men fear that these nations shall again, at last, be carried back again into Rome, and be swallowed in popish superstition and idolatry.

Next, as we do profess the sorrow of our hearts, so we do testify the abhorrence of our souls, against all the injuries and affronts that have been or are offered and done to the national covenant of Scotland, and to the solemn league and covenant of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is too much sin upon these nations (whereof we acknowledge ourselves to have

have a large share) that they have not attended the duties to which they are respectively engaged therein, with that sincerity, reality and constancy that befits so sacred and solemn vows made unto God, but have, through the power of an unsound and luke-warm heart, and an unstable spirit, come short exceedingly therein; yea, have fallen in many breaches of all the articles thereof. But what a dreadful astonishing thing is it, the like whereof we believe hath scarce been heard amongst the heathen, that these solemn vows and covenants (which for the solemnity, hath had but few parallels among the nations) should not only be scorned and derided by open adversaries, but vilified, reproached, opposed and trodden under-foot by many who have therein opened their mouths unto God, and subscribed and sealed them with their hands; yea, sought to be buried in oblivion, that the name thereof as to the obligation of them, may be no more mentioned nor remembered. We cannot remember nor repeat but with much indignation and abhorrency of spirit, how some have railed upon, and reviled it, to that height of impudence and impiety, as to call it Nehustane, the brazen serpent that should be broken to pieces, and ground to powder, lest men fall down to worship it, and to compare the pressing of it to the papists holding up the idolatrous eucharist in the eyes of the people, that they may fall down and worship it; and how others of no better spirit have been bold to call it a device of the devil, a cursed covenant hatched in hell: And which doth more afflict us, as being a more public sin upon these nations, not only is there no law nor declaration, since the year 1651, declaring the standing obligation thereof, and former laws and declarations relating thereunto to be still in force; but the very formal tie and obligation thereof is forgotten and laid aside; and all laws, statutes and ordinances, and clauses in any law, statute and ordinance, relating to the tie and establishment thereof, repealed, so far as they are contrary to the liberty and toleration in things religious, held forth in the petition of advice. Oh that we were sensible of the dishonour that is done to God in these things, and of the dreadful guilt that these nations are involved into thereby, and of the great wrath that is like to come thereupon because of the same. If covenant breaking be a most hainous and dangerous offence complained of, condemned, threatened, and severely plagued of God, Psal. lxxviii. 34, 35, 36, 37. Jer. xi. 10. 2 Kings xvii. 15. Lev. xxvi. 25. Deut. xxix. 20,

21, 22, 23; 24. Jer. xxii. 8, 9. Ezek. xvii. 15. Amos i. 9. Josh. vii. 11, 12. 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2. If it be true which was delivered from the word of the Lord by a reverend divine, in his exhortation made to the honourable house of commons, and reverend divines of the assembly at London, before he read the covenant, that a truce-breaker is reckoned up amongst the vilest of Christians, 2 Tim. iii. 3. So a covenant-breaker is listed amongst the worst of heathens, Rom. i. 31. And which from the same word of truth was delivered by another reverend divine, at the taking of the covenant, by the honourable committee of estates, and reverend commissioners of the general assembly in Scotland, *That God would shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performed not the words of this promise*, Neh. v. 13. If (we say) these be the true sayings of God, as no doubt they are, because delivered by the God of truth, in the scriptures of truth, have we not reason upon the hearing thereof, to be afraid, that great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against the inhabitants of these nations, because of forsaking and despising of his covenant; and upon that account, not only to mourn and humble ourselves in private, but also to give public warning thereof unto others, that (if the Lord so will) we may persuade them also to humble themselves, and repent; or if they will not hearken and hear, that we may deliver our own souls, by bearing witness to God and his truth, and by not hating our brother in our heart, but in any wise rebuking our neighbour, and not suffering sin upon him, Lev. xix. 17.

In the last place, we do also, as ministers of the gospel, testify our dislike, that the civil powers, who now bear rule over this nation, should engross into their treasury, the legal settled maintenance of all the vacant churches into the land, and put the disposing thereof into the hands of a civil judicatory, without whose intervening approbation and warrant (notwithstanding of their being called by the congregation, and approved and admitted by the presbytery) none shall be authorized or admitted to any such vacant living or benefice, as is due to the ministry in Scotland, and that they do not allow them this approbation and warrant, until first they do declare under their hands, their purpose and resolution to live peaceably under the present government. 1. Because this way is contrary unto the word of God. The divine right of the maintenance of ministers is a truth that is clearly taught in the scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, Num. b.

xviii. 8, 9. Deut. xiv. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. Ezek. xlv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Matth. x. 10. Luke x. 7. 1 Cor. ix. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Gal. vi. 6. 1 Tim. v. 17. And the scriptures also teach, that as it is the magistrate's duty to see sufficient provision made for the ministry, and (if need be) to supply their want out of their own treasury, Isa. xlix. 23. and lx. 10. 1 Chron. xxix. 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 Chron. xxxi. 2, 3, 4. Eccl. xiii. 10, 11, 12, 13. Gen. xlvii. 22. So also that is a great sin before the Lord for them, or any other, to take away or devour, or intervert holy things that are now already settled and devoted unto the maintenance of the gospel, and of the worship of God, Lev. xxvii. 10, 32, 33. Deut. xxvii. 12, 13, 14, 15. Prov. xx. 25. 2 Kings xvi. 17. 2 Chron. xxv. 24. Joel iii. 4, 5. Mal. iii. 8, 9. Acts xix. 37. Rom. ii. 22. Add to these things, that the church of Scotland hath a proper patrimony and rents of her own, competent for the entertaining of her ministers, founded for most part upon the tithes and allocations out of the same, and upon particular donations and mortifications of private and public benefactors. 2. That there is no footstep in the word of God of the civil magistrate his approbation of a minister in the house of God, as necessary, before he have right unto, or power to intromit with his maintenance, or of the civil magistrate his being warranted to put a bar upon the legal maintenance of the ministers of the gospel, that is due unto them by virtue of their office, or to restrain it, until first they have given bonds for their peaceable deportment under his government; but that upon the contrary, the word of the Lord doth clearly teach, that ministers maintenance is due by virtue of their office, and without any such intervening approbation from the civil magistrate, or any such bonds required of them, or given by them: The Holy Ghost, Lev. vii. 35, 36. calleth the maintenance of the priests, the portion of their anointing; in the day when he presented them to minister unto the Lord in the priest's office, which the Lord commanded to be given them of the children of Israel, in the day when he anointed them, by a statute for ever, throughout their generations, which is repeated again, Numb. xviii. 18. Their maintenance is in many texts of scripture, called their inheritance, which they were as freely to enjoy, as the people did enjoy their inheritances. The light of nature taught a heathen king to allow heathen priests somewhat more in the freedom of their enjoyments, than to the rest of his subjects, Gen. xlvii. 22. and

the part of Levi's covenant of ministers, having access to their maintenance freely by virtue of their office, is of force under the gospel; as well as under the law, as we may see from the xlvth chapter of the prophecy of Ezekiel: It is there appointed that an holy portion of the land be assigned for the priests, the ministers of the sanctuary, and given unto them immediately by the assignment and commandment of God, without such intervening approbation of any civil authority, or any such promises required of them, or made by them, as previous unto their right thereunto. And the same thing is also clearly consequent from these texts in the New Testament which we have cited already, that do prove the maintenance of ministers under the gospel, to be due unto them, *jure divino*, and by virtue of their office. 3. This way of assuming and disposing of the maintenance of the ministers of the gospel, is contrary unto the liberties, and privileges, and constitutions of this church, founded upon the word of God, and confirmed by a constant current of many wholesome laws and acts of parliament, made in favours of the church. 1st Book of Discipline, head fifth and sixth. 2^d Book of Discipline, chap. ix, x, xii. Act of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, Dec. 25. 1566. Articles touching reformation condescended upon in the Assembly at Edinburgh, July 21. 1567. Act of the Assembly at Edinburgh, April 24. 1576. Act of Parliament at Edinburgh, Oct. 24. 1581. Act of Parliament at Edinburgh, Jan. 1. 1592. As also, the 6th, 7th, and 8th Acts of King Charles II^d's Parliament at Edinburgh, June 11. 1640. with many other acts of the general assemblies of this church, and acts of parliament of this nation, as will easily appear to any that shall peruse the registers of kirk and state. 4. Because it doth clearly tend unto the bringing of the church and the ministers thereof in bondage unto the lusts and will of men, by taking from them liberty of discharging their consciences in declaring all the counsel of God, and reprovng of the sins of all men freely, and without respect of persons. Thus being bound in the Spirit, we have been constrained in this cold and declining time (wherein few are valiant for the truth, or do faithfully and zealously plead for the Lord and his interests, and many do conspire for making void of his law, though, blessed be his Majesty, he wants not a cloud of honourable witnesses in these nations, who have gone before us in these things, the measure of whose testimony we do desire in some things to fill up, according to the light and strength which we have received

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of the Lord,) to stand up for his precious truth, and to testify before God, angels and men, our owning and approving of the doctrine, worship and government of the church of Scotland, and of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three nations, and of so much of the work of uniformity in religion, as is attained in one Confession of Faith, Directory of Worship, form of church government, and catechising; and to profess and avouch our adherence unto all these, as having their foundations laid in the blessed word of truth, and as being agreeable to that rule that bringeth peace in walking according thereto; and to disclaim and disavow all things that are contrary and destructive thereunto, especially the manifold errors and heresies of these times, and the vast toleration thereof now established in a law, and that gross Erastianism whereby the keys of the kingdom of heaven are in many things, by exotic powers, extorted out of the hands of Jesus Christ, and the officers of his house, and the liberties of his house wronged, and his servants brought into bondage, in all which we have (so far as we have obtained mercy to know our own hearts) confidence to take God to record upon our souls, that we have not desired nor designed to provoke any, nor to appear singular; but in the simplicity of our hearts, to discharge our consciences to our flocks, and to this whole church and nation, and to all that are interested and concerned in these things, and to the churches and saints abroad, as many as hear hereof, and to our posterity when we are gone. And therefore we have only to add, first, That it is the earnest desire of our souls, and our serious exhortation and warning to these of our flocks, and to all the Lord's people in the land, that they would labour to have the word of God richly dwelling in them, that they may be able to try the spirits, and to discern of things that differ; to know what is truth, and what is error, and what is right, and what is wrong; and that they would study to be rooted in the faith and in the love of Jesus Christ, and of his precious truth and ordinances, retaining an honourable estimation thereof in their hearts, and expressing their sincere affection and respect thereunto in all their ways, and that they would study to keep fresh upon their souls, the remembrance of all the goodness of the Lord, and of all the great works that he hath done for us, and for our fathers of old; and of our solemn vows and covenants made with God in the sight of angels and men, and never to suffer such forgetfulness and profanity

to possess them, as to think themselves loosed from the true and genuine tie thereof; but to keep themselves under the bond of the same, and sincerely, really and constantly, to endeavour the performance of the duties to which they are thereby obliged, and that they may not be offended nor stumble at Jesus Christ and his work, nor faint, nor cast away their confidence, because of backslidings, and revoltings, and divisions, and heresies; or because of disappointments, and reproaches, and contradictions, and oppositions, and oppressions, and persecutions, for these things must be, that they which are approved may be made manifest, but that they be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, possessing their souls in patience, and waiting for his salvation, knowing, that he that endureth to the end, shall be saved; and in the mean while, comforting themselves in this, that God hath not cast off the care of his church and people in this land. It is a mercy most worthy of our observation, that errors and heresies, notwithstanding all the advantages they have had these seven years past in Scotland, have taken hold but of few professors, formerly noted for the knowledge and love of the truth; and that the preaching of the gospel, notwithstanding all the disadvantages it hath been attended with these years, yet hath been blessed of God in several places of the land, to the bringing in and building up of souls; an evidence that the Lord is yet amongst us, and a promising branch of hope that he will revive his work, and bring forth his remnant, and continue to dwell in our land. And we are also bold in our God, to warn the higher powers, into whose hand the Lord hath, in the depths of his righteous judgments, given this nation, that they would not look upon this our testimony, as proceeding from any evil spirit, or carnal or politic design, but from the sincere and innocent impressions of our duty made upon our hearts by Jesus Christ (who though he is the Prince of peace, yet did the zeal of the Lord's house eat him up, and make him witness against the corrupters of his truth, and polluters of his worship, and profaners of his temple, and all unrighteousness of men) nor despise the words of soberness and truth, which though proceeding but from a very few poor weak instruments, yet we are sure, have their foundations in the scriptures of truth, and are, as to the matter concerned, we hope, with the hearty approbation of many of the thousands of the Israel of God in this land, but that laying aside the balances of outward dis-

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penfations, and politic principles and intentions, they would weigh things in the balance of the Lord's sanctuary, and in the fear of the great and dreadful name of the Lord, search and try their way in order to this nation; especially in order to the house of God, which doth in a great measure lie waste; yea, would to God were not laid waste and made desolate, and the hedges thereof broken down, whilst men run to build and fence their own house with the spoils and ruins of the house of God. The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. Jerusalem hath been a cup of trembling and a burdensome stone to many people, and hath cut them in pieces, who have burdened themselves therewith, Zech. xii. 2, 3. and the vengeance of the Lord's temple hath broken in pieces many of the powers of the earth, Jer. l. 15, 28. And whoever have endeavoured to raise themselves upon the ruins of his house, have been buried under the rubbish thereof; yea, where services hath been otherwise commanded and prospered of the Lord: Yet when men for rooting of themselves have remitted their zeal for the house of God, and countenanced the worshipping of calves and idol gods, their former services have been imputed unto them for iniquity, and the Lord hath threatened to avenge them upon them and their house, 2 Kings x. 29, 32. Hosea i. 4. And therefore it concerns the higher powers that now are, under the peril of the dreadful displeasure of the Lord of hosts, who is zealous for his holy temple, and for his people, timeously and seriously to consider of these things, and whether their actings, in order to this nation and church in those things that concern righteousness and religion, be agreeable to the rule of equity, and to the bond of the brotherly covenant; or if the royal law in these matters be not violated, and the solemn covenant broken and laid aside, and forgotten, and the hedges of the Lord's vine broken down, so that all they which pass by the way do pluck her, and the boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast out of the field doth devour it. *Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts: look down from heaven, and behold and visit this vine: and the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted: and the branch that thou madest strong for thyself. It is burnt with fire, it is cut down, they perish at the rebuke of thy countenance. Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand: upon the son of man whom thou madest strong for thyself. So will not we go back from thee: quicken us,*

us, and we will call upon thy name. Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts : cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved.

October 1658.

Subscribed by us,

Mr. Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity at St. Andrews, and minister of the gospel there.

Mr. James Wedderburn, minister of the gospel at Moonzie.

John Crookshank, minister at Regortoun.

James Guthrie, minister of the gospel at Stirling.

Alexander Moncrief, minister at Scoony.

John Murray, minister at Methven.

Robert Campbell, minister at Mullein.

Francis Peirson, minister at Kirkmichael.

A LET.

A LETTER from several Ministers homologating the former
TESTIMONY.

REVEREND and dear brethren, being informed that you are upon thoughts of causing print the Testimony, given by you in behalf of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the kirk of Scotland, and of the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, and the work of uniformity in religion, and against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of the times, and the toleration thereof, &c. And taking to our serious consideration the manifold dangers that do threaten religion, and the work of God in these nations, especially in this church, with the continuance and increase thereof day by day: We could not but encourage you therein; and for the exoneration of our own souls, join with you as joint witnesses in those matters. We could have wished, and we know, so also could ye, that there had been a new draught fitted in every thing, to the present state and condition of the time, and to the workings of the spirit of delusion therein: and in a special way taking notice of that unhappy petition lately subscribed and promoted by some few of our countrymen, in behalf of that vast toleration that is now on foot in these nations; a petition that we are the more bound to witness against, because it is commonly reported, and we believe, not without ground, to be subscribed by Mr. Thomas Ireland, who did once profess himself to be of our number, whose miscarriage in that particular, as we desire to be humbled before God for it, so we judge it our duty, and we know, also, so do ye, to bear witness against it before the world; but knowing that it would take a long time before a new draught of a testimony could be condescended upon, by these that live at such a distance, especially in the winter season; we thought it better to encourage you to publish this, and to take hold of the present opportunity of signifying our consent thereunto, than to delay, being altogether uncertain what the present confusions might bring forth. That we did not at the first subscribing join therein, was not upon any dissatisfaction upon the matter which it contains, we being abundantly clear in that from the beginning, but some of us were cut off from the occasion, by physical impediments, and others knowing that there was at that time some endeavours and expectation of

an address to be made by several synods, to the civil powers, for remedying of the evils which you then thought fit to witness against, in such a way, they judged it more expedient for the time, to delay the giving of any such testimony, until these addresses should prove ineffectual: and there being now no access thereunto, we are very free to homologate your Testimony, and do hereby declare our consent and adherence to the same, desiring that it may be construed of the world, and accepted of God, not only as yours, but as ours and yours jointly: We commending you to the grace of God, we continue

Your very affectionate brethren
Nov. 22. 1659. in our Lord Jesus Christ,

- Mr. Thomas Lundie, minister at Rattray.
- James Symson, minister at Airth.
- George Murray, minister at Foulis.
- Robert Rule, minister at Stirling.
- Thomas Hogg, minister at Lerber.
- Thomas Glass, minister at Dunkell.
- James Strachan, minister at Dunkell.
- Gilbert Menzies, minister at Fortengol.
- Patrick Campbell, minister at Killin.

For their reverend brethren Mr. Samuel Rutherford, principal of the divinity college in St. Andrews, Mr. James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, and the rest of the brethren subscribing the Testimony.



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